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Selections.

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE COLORED RACE.

An Address delivered by E. F. BEALE, *Esq., at National Hill, Chester, Pa., Nov. 6th*, 1865.

MY FELLOW-TOWNSMEN: I speak in the cause of equal political rights, and in accordance with the solemn convictions of conscience.

I believe in the capacity of the human race to govern itself everywhere, according to its civilization and climate.

I believe in the continual advancement of civilization, under fostering laws, and in the ability of the colored race greatly to aid that advancement.

I believe education to be the soul of civilization, and I have faith in its power to make the colored man a useful coadjutor of the white.

Finally, I believe in and acknowledge the black man as my worthy *fellow-countryman*, of whom prejudice and ignorance, aiding wicked legislation, deprive me as a *fellow-citizen*.

The theme is unpopular. If I courted popularity, I should avoid it. If I spoke for the *present*, I should fear the result. But neither do I fear your censure so much as the disapproval of my own conscience, nor doubt that the *future*, which comes on rapidly, will do me ample justice. The influences which urge me to speak on so unpopular a subject, are, hope for the human race—love of *Justice*, and hatred of *Oppression*. He who speaks ever so weakly, under such feelings, and does his best, deserves a patient hearing.

In such a cause, I scorn any concealment of ideas, or any of the duplicities of words, behind which to screen my thoughts.

Coming before a people descended chiefly from a race, the merciful tolerance of whose creed embraced in its beautiful charities the whole family of man, and so democratic that they acknowledged neither in kings nor emperors more than a brother man, I speak in behalf of a colored *fellow-laborer*—a freeman, and for his rights.

I speak for the colored man, not believing, with your distinguished representative, that his vote is good, "if cast on the right side," but because I have a positive conviction that he *has a right to vote* on any side he pleases.

What constitutes a voter? Under your laws, a *white man* who has complied with certain requisitions of the law. *A white man* whom the Government *taxes*, and, in return, permits the privilege of voting, in order that his sentiments may be represented in the law-making branches of the Government. These reciprocal privileges are held so sacred that men justly consider them dearer than life. Taxation without representation, gave occasion for the war which terminated in our Independence and present form of Government, which we call a Republic. Shall a man, under this form of Government, be debarred from this inestimable right, because of his color? Will you persist in taxing a man and giving him no representation, and dare still to listen, with self-complacent gravity, to annual orations which commemorate a war, the battle cry of which was, "No taxation without representation?" Jefferson says: "A voter is he who fights or pays." I accept the definition of the Father of Democracy, and I assert a fact you cannot deny. It is written in golden letters on your Treasury, and in blood upon your battle-fields—*the black man fights and pays!*

There are men who speak of the degradation of voting with the colored man, and even those who would like to be thought his friends are half-ashamed to avow it. The Secretary of a late Convention in this State, says, "he who is afraid of negro equality is not far from it." Shame on such friends! who basely pander to vulgar prejudice against color, and suppose the black man so ignorant as to be pleased with such support. For my part, I hope and trust the black man may prove the equal of the white. I wish to see it, and shall rejoice at it, and it is because I hope him capable of it, I speak before you to-night. If the cause of humanity and civilization is advanced, what is it to you or to me the color of the *man* who aids in that progress? There is no difference between an uneducated, uninstructed white man and an uneducated, uninstructed colored man. Do we not see them constantly performing the same labors with equal intelligence and integrity, side by side? Look abroad at labor performed upon the improvements in your town. If seven men are carrying the hod, three of them are colored and yet the work goes on in perfect harmony. If three are employed in the pursuits of agriculture one will be colored, and with no offence to his brother laborers, because he generally knows his duties and performs them as well as themselves. The whole South attests the fact they are good farmers, for they have been the sole producers of the wealth which their aristocratic masters have been spending upon the frightful war, from which we have just emerged.

The great mistake people generally make in relation to the colored race arises from want of reflection, and the habit of accepting hereditary cultivated prejudices for reason and argument. Without doubt the strong prejudice against the man arises from the fact that the colored race have been held as slaves among us, and it has ever been the policy of the slaveholders to encourage a contempt for the intelligence of their slaves among themselves, and such is the brutalizing effect of slavery, that the enslaved come to accept the fiction of inferiority as fact, and silently acquiesce in it, and so, although we do not hold slaves in Penns-land, we have readily enough taken our opinions of the black man from those who held them as slaves, and whose policy it was to indoctrinate us with their views. The whole policy of the South has been to degrade the negro to the brute—like the negro-trader in Uncle Tom, they have always been sighing for a lot of likely, healthy niggers "with the soul left out." Now I do not know in a given number how many of the colored race will turn out men of great public worth under generations of education such as has been applied to the white race, or how nearly they would approach our exalted standard of literary excellence, but I sincerely believe the average intelligence and capacity to acquire knowledge are as great in the uneducated blacks, as in the white men of the United States.

Look around you, in your own county, and say, if you can, with any sort of consistence, why our colored fellow-countrymen should not vote as well as any one else. They are taxed like yourselves, they work as you do, produce as much from their labor, are neither more or less intelligent than other uneducated voters. They are quiet, peaceable, orderly people, rarely given to vices which are the habit of others equally ignorant, not intemperate or riotous, but greatly addicted to the pursuit of religion, perhaps, because they find in its history so many parallels of their own unfortunate condition, and, in its Divine promises and hopes of another world—their only solace for the trials of this.

The great obstacle in the path of justice to our colored fellow-countrymen and their rights of franchise, seems to be a chimera called "Social equality." What this means I have not been able to discover. "Social equality," in a whole nation, is an impossible absurdity. It would necessitate equality of brains and equality of wealth. The rich, and intelligent, and educated, will naturally associate with their compeers. The middle classes will have their cliques, and the poor from necessity and inclination will live together. Social equality! why it does not exist any more among the colored people themselves than it does among white people. The bright, intelligent colored man feels as much pride in his position as the white man, and will no more descend to "social equality" with the black vagrant than the white with a white.

No one proposes, by legalizing the colored vote, to make any law by which their social status will be changed. Society does and will always regulate itself. If, in the lapse of time, and with the disappearance of prejudice, the colored man becomes acceptable by his accomplishments to the refined and educated white man as a companion, the white man will accept him as such, just as now he is—in the condition in which society forces the illiterate and rude of all classes to assume—frequently, nay, constantly, the accepted companion, both in labor and in recreation, of those whose condition assimilates to his own. No one proposes a law forcing the companionship of the colored man on his white neighbor—simply an act of justice to an injured race, and leave to themselves their own fate. The position they take in society will be just that which society chooses to accord to their merits; and that is all the "social equality" any man, white or black, can ever reach or claim

But why speak of the brutality and impossibilty of colonizing them elsewhere? Why eternally propose the idle question, "What shall we do with the Negro?" Why not at once, with the hospitality that distinguishes our treatment of foreigners, admit these fellow-countrymen to their rights. Their love for the country of their birth is just as strong as ours, and on every bloody battle-field of all our wars, they have only asked your leave to lay down their lives in defence of it.

Will you fight side by side with them—find it no disgrace that your noblest receive the sacred rights of sepulture in the same trench with them—admit them into your homes, in the tender capacity of nurses—kneel at the altar and worship the same God with them—and yet find it a degradation to vote with them on subjects which interest them just as much as they do you, and upon which they are perfectly capable of deciding for themselves? Strange, ineradicable effect of prejudice! Your bitterest foes of the past four years are rapidly growing in favor and sympathy. Even men like Campbell and Stephens, who deserve it less because they joined the rebellion *against their convictions*, are openly urged by many for pardon, and yet you cannot find it in your charity to do justice to your most loyal ally and fellow-countryman, because *God* has made him black. Of what color do you suppose the souls of these people? One would think you read that beautiful sentiment of Christ to refer to us alone. He does not say suffer little *white* children to come unto me.

For me, I believe the blood of negro martyrs, who fell by assassin's hands at Fort Pillow, cries as loudly to the great God for vengeance as that of your late President. The true martyrs were men like the gifted and noble Shaw of the memorable 54th Massachusetts regiment, who did not wait until popular clamor forced him into acts of justice, but leaving a home where every refinement which hereditary wealth could throw around a charming house, and other ties too tender and sacred for public speech, came with high heroic resolve to lay down a precious life upon the altar of conviction.

Against the presumptuous audacity of the South, what safeguard have you but the colored vote? I warn you that you have a bitter struggle before you, in which such loyal allies will become most important and welcome.

In the present Congress, you will find three points insolently insisted on, and although defeated perhaps now, with the pertinacity, unquestionable skill, perfect contempt for Northern sentiment which have always characterized the Southern heart, you will find them brought up again and again until, with the aid of Northern Democratic pro-slavery subserviency, they are finally passed, unless your loyal colored countrymen are permitted to assist you by their votes. The three points desire to call your attention to are, the remission of Federal taxes due for the past four years, pensions for Rebel soldiers, and compensation for slaves emancipated by the Proclamation, and perhaps payment of the Rebel debt. You will find a most united and unanimous solid front, animated by the knowledge that even to propose these subjects will mortify you, standing up for these three objects and insisting on them with a fierce persistency which will show you the inveterate hatred of the Southerner for the Yankee conqueror.

Even as a rule of policy, we must admit the colored man to vote—we must give him his rights—we must do him justice. It is the only means by which you can break the fatally portentous unity of the Southern vote. The public safety requires us to hold the South, for some years, in check, and "the right of this republic to be a sovereign amongst the sovereignties of the earth, must be put beyond future dispute."

You have whipped the Southern armies, but the rebellion still lives as much a fact, to-day, in the Southern heart, as four years ago, and "it is our right and our duty to secure whatever the public safety and the public faith may require." Does any one doubt the continued disloyalty of the South?

The press teems with proofs of the rottenness of the Southern people. We have *beaten*, not *converted* them, and almost the only allies we have there, to-day, are the loyal and patriotic colored men.

Do you suppose you have yet even *freed* the slaves? Do you not know the vile intentions of their former masters to re-enslave them by enacting laws in which they will have no voice, and which will oppress them with exactions worse than their former slavery? Russia emancipates her serfs—our Southern brothers will pick up the shackles she throws away, and replace those which the emancipation of the war has broken—establishing serfdom instead of slavery.

Machiavelli says, when you have an enemy in your power whom you hate, the best thing to do is to ruin him. That is what the South intents to do with the negro, an enemy they hate, as the cause of the war in which they have been so thoroughly beaten. They intend following the wily Italian's advice, and ruin him. The Southern idea of the lying down of the lion and the lamb together, is that the lion should first devour the lamb. This they will do by State laws, and I confess, in spite of the high authority for it, I cannot see how, after they are at once admitted as States again into Congress, we are to be able to "check them" when they are inclined to acts of tyranny and injustice. My conviction is, that we are reconstructing too rapidly, and that, while we have the power, and before we readmit the rebellious States, we should demand and secure some substantial guaranty for the colored race. Once back in Congress, these Southern people will fight you as obstinately and arrogantly as ever, having no longer any fear of your interference with their chattel, and hating you because you have deprived them of it.

The whole Southern press tells the same story of their intentions, and their Northern Democratic allies are aiding and abetting their abominable views.

In my judgment, the only hope for permanent peace in this country lies in the adoption of Mr. Sumner's proposed amendment to the Constitution, of February 6th, 1864, which forces the South either to do justice to the freedmen or suffer themselves in their representation in the National Congress. The amendment to which I allude, stipulates that representation shall be in proportion to the number of actual electors, and is as follows:

"*Amendment to the Constitution, apportioning representation in Congress according to the number of actual electors.* Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union *according to the number of male citizens of age having in each State the qualifications requisite for electors* of the most numerous branch of the Legislature. The actual enumeration of such citizens shall be made by the census of the United States."

In submitting this amendment Mr. Sumner remarked that one of two alterations was open; the suffrage must be secured to the new made freedmen, which was the just course, or the number of representatives must be apportioned according to the *actual electors*, which would make it for the interest of a State to extend the franchise. Without one of these measures the political power of the old slave masters would be enlarged by the Proclamation of Emancipation.

The beauty of all law is in the evenness of its action; that is for the high as well as the low, the poor as well as the rich. How monstrous it would seem, to make a law for the poor man which should not be obligatory on the rich; or a law for either in which the people had no voice, and yet we are acting with this infinite cruelty towards thousands, aye! millions of our colored fellow-men. The most despotic countries now on earth have no such glaring offences against common sense in their laws as we who boast the freest.

There is not a country in Europe, not even excepting Russia, that to-day makes a distinction between the colors of its citizens.

Gerrit Smith says wisely:

"LAW will be a curse so long as the mass of men shall look upon it as the possible protector and upholder of the hugest lie and the intensest wickedness. It will be a priceless blessing when they shall see that, from its very nature, it must be, in all times and in all places, nothing else than the shrine and defence of truth and justice."

These people know how to plow, to sow, and to reap. They can give as good a reason for it as other uneducated people, through observation of the seasons. They know whom they like and dislike as well as others, and can give their reasons as well. If I ask the best informed white man present why he has a right to vote he can only reply because "I "fight or pay," and the gold of the blackest negro in the land is just as current with the tax-receiver as his, and his blood is just as red upon the battle-field. Therefore, I say, if you have reasons against these people's rights let us hear them; if not, I demand justice for them. I ask no man's love for them. I ask only that you should raise yourselves nearer to God by exercising towards them one of his grandest attributes—justice to man. The Southern system has always been to educate the negro downwards—you cultivate him as you do celery, heaping up the dirt of vice and immorality around him as his tops seek the light of the blessed sun, shutting him out in darkness from the sunlight of education; but down through all the accumulated filth and dirt of years, a stray beam has flashed its cheering ray to tell him of the sunshine that is coming.

He has asked for bread and they have given him a stone. They have starved him, intellectually, and complain that he is ignorant—tortured him with the lash, and complain he does not love them—they deceive him in morals, and complain he is treacherous—they steal his labor, and complain that his nature is full of theft—they scourge him to the field, and say he does not love work—they educate him in vice, and are surprised that he is vicious—they bind this giant as the Lilliputians did Gulliver, by the hairs of the head to the earth and throw over all the twisted cable of prejudice, and say he has no strength.

The very contradictions into which the pro-slavery Democratic party of the North are hurried by their unprincipled zeal against free institutions would be amusing were it not for the gravity of the subject. These are some of them.

"1st, That the free negro will not work at all; but

2d, That he will work so much better than the white laborer, that the latter will be injured by the "pressure of negro competition."

3d, That the country will be ruined by the idleness of the free blacks; but

4th, That the negroes are so eager for work as to leave none for white workmen.

5th, That the negroes are a curse to the country; but

6th, That the slave system, which made negro breeding a regular and profitable business, and thus increased their numbers at an abnormal rate, was a divine institution and a blessing to the land.

7th, That the negro is naturally an abject coward; but

8th, That he is a most dangerous creature, capable of rising and murdering a community double his numbers and with a hundred times his strength in arms and all preparations for defence.

9th, That the negro can only live in a warm climate, like that of the Southern States; but

10th, That now he is set free there, he will immediately rush North, and take the bread out of the *mouths of the white workingmen here.*

11th, That white men cannot work in the Southern fields, which can be cultivated only by negroes; but

12th, That the negroes ought all to be colonized in Africa, or driven off to some remote corner of this continent.

13th, That the freedmen are so stupid and ignorant as to be dangerous to the Republic; but

14th, That they ought not to be instructed or permitted to acquire knowledge.

15th, That it would be a curse to Northern workingmen to have the negroes flock into these States; but

16th, That Northern workingmen ought not to favor a policy which would make the negroes contented to remain in the South.

17th, That the workingmen of the Northern States are the most intelligent, the most capable, the most industrious, and the most virtuous in the world; but

18th, That they will be inevitably ruined and deprived of work by the competition of ignorant and idle negroes.

19th, That the presence of the blacks amongst us will always be a source of difficulty and trouble; but

20th, That the Emancipation act is wrong, chiefly because, under its operation, the negro race is likely to die out, like the Indians."

Some urge that the planter will control the colored vote—I do not believe it. The planter will be dependant on the colored man's labor, not the colored man on the planter's patronage. That is argument enough on that head. It is asked, can the colored man take care of himself? He has not only taken care of himself, but of the whole South for years, and do you believe he will not do that better as a freeman, he has done so well as a slave.

You have used these men for your necessities and now will you deny them the reward they fought so well for? "placing a barren sceptre in their hands, and on their heads the semblance of a crown." Always in your troubles you make much of the colored man. In the Revolutionary War he was a citizen, and with the right to vote in eleven of the thirteen original States.

When New Orleans was in peril, and the hand of Packenham at its throat, Gen. Jackson patted them on the back and called them "my fellow-citizens," and in your late distress, you made them citizen soldiers again. Are you going to abandon them now, just as peace dawns upon you? There are savages whose gods are made of clay. They set them up and worship them when pressed by enemies or attacked by epidemics, but throw them down and laugh at them when the trouble has passed.

When I hear of a white regiment of our soldiers disbanded I rejoice, for I think of a thousand good citizens giving up the cruel and destructive pursuits of war, for the useful and creative one of peace. They have still a country to love and serve, and the flag which they carried on so many deadly fields is still the same to them—the emblem of their national life. But I am filled with sympathy, shame, remorse when I hear of the disbandonment of a colored regiment. No longer a citizen, no longer a country, no longer a flag. The intermittent curse returns to them with peace. An absolute curse put upon them by *us*, because *God* has made them black. No matter how well they fought or how much we needed them. Even that poor gallant, black, *five times wounded*, who hugged the abandoned colors of his regiment to his bleeding breast, and crawled with the dear flag back to his comrades. Even he whose gifts seemed so uncommonly white upon that bloody field has not the privilege you grant a foreigner, who cannot love the land as he does, and will not vote more intelligently.

The nation that knows such a wrong to exist and does not right it, cannot prosper. When a nation oppresses an important minority of its productive laboring class, it has familiarized itself to look with favor on a despotic form of government. This is perilous in a republic. To oppress by law or to draw *caste* distinctions between different modes of labor is anti-democratic, and to draw distinctions between the color of laborers is anti-common sense. "The man who fights or pays" should vote.

Is there any nation so powerful that it can afford to oppress millions of its people, who, in the field of religion—in the field of labor—in the field of battle—have proved themselves sincere, faithful, valiant, lacking neither the intelligence nor patriotism of their fellow-countrymen of equal advantages—merely on account of color? Does any one doubt, if the negro was white, possessing identically, however, all the characteristics of the colorpd race, that we would hail him, with open arms, as an emigrant from any country in Europe, as heartily as we do now the thousands who daily land at our wharves? And shall we take away the dearest privilege of freemen from our fellow-countrymen, because we have for so many years done him the injustice to enslave him, and thereby educated ourselves in a foolish prejudice against him? Why, if it had been our misfortune to have received the emigrants of any other nation as *slaves*, I do not doubt the same prejudice we attach to color in the negro would have, in some other form, applied to them.

But whatever may be the course of other States on this question, it does not become you, people of Pennsylvania, to withhold your votes from the cause of right and justice, or to array yourselves on the side of intolerance and oppression.

I ask you, then, in the names of Penn and Franklin—in the name of justice and human rights, and in a spirit of fairness—for, in such a cause, I scorn all concessions of charity—to give your voices to sustain the manifest privileges of your fellow-countrymen—not because it is the only means by which you can maintain your ascendancy over a beaten, but defiant and still rebellious people, but because *it is right and just.*

Descendants of Penn, and Sydney, and Franklin, those lovers of truth and justice, and haters of oppression and fraud, who founded for you this magnificent State—here surrounded by all that is comfortable and elegant, and refined—called upon in the name of justice, religion and policy, can you resist the appeal of so many of your countrymen? Those august forms who gave a being to your State, and watched its infancy with such jealous care, seem, in frowning remonstrance, to say to those who would violate their intentions: "In the State we have dedicated to freedom and universal suffrage, we command you to respect the rights of your colored fellow-countrymen."

SOUTHERN COLORED LOYALISTS.

SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND WRONGS.—CONGRESS MEMORIALIZED AND THE LEGISLATURE PETITIONED.

[We joyfully give large space to the following report, and we thank the N. Y. *Tribune*, in behalf of the colored race and all their friends, for also affording it room and us the opportunity of copying it. Let the friends of impartial justice and equal liberty read it and rejoice. Here was held a convention of disfranchised men, because of their color. Here was a Congress, many of whose most active members were born slaves, and so lived until God's thunders stove off their chains within the last four years! And let the foes of genuine Democracy, the abettors of slavery and of rebellion and murder in behalf of slavery also read it and be ashamed and confounded. Let them repent, as in sackcloth and ashes, of the fearful sin and crime of themselves and their fathers over which the whole land to-day mourns.]

Condensed from the Tribune..

CHARLESTON, Nov. 25, 1865.

A STATE Convention of the colored people of South Carolina, met in Charleston on Monday of last week, closing its labors this morning. Delegates were in attendance from all parts of the State. Representative men were present—men whose sentiments would have commanded respect even in the North. Their deliberations have been marked by a degree of sagacity, calmness and earnest sincerity which has surprised their friends and commanded the respect of even the most sceptical. The *Daily South Carolinian*, published in Charleston, a journal far from being suspected of possessing over much faith in the capabilities of the Negroes for self-government, declared it to be a very respectable assemblage, and its deliberations entitled to consideration.

A correspondent of the New York *Herald* says of it: "The convention of colored people now in session in this city has been marked by a display of ability and decorum that has won for its members great credit from even those who see in such gatherings only some ominous forebodings of insurrection and bloodshed. The President of the convention is T. M. Holmes, a former slave of C. G. Memminger, ex-rebel Secretary of the Treasury. He was a trust servant before the war, in charge of the law library belonging to the firm of Memminger, Jervey and Wilkinson, and made an excellent librarian. Delegates from nearly every portion and district of the State are in attendance. The celebrated colored Major Delaney, formerly of Gen. Saxton's staff, is the leading spirit of the convention. His addresses have been distinguished for their excellent advice and sound practical sense. Several United States officers have attended the sittings of the convention and taken part in the discussions."

The Convention organized by the choice of the following officers;

President—Thomas M. Holmes. *Vice-Presidents*—Jacob Mills, J. J. Wright, W. M. Simons. *Secretaries*—John C. Des Verney, A. J. Ransier, E. B. Raney.

The following resolutions from the Business Committee were reported, which met with a warm support, and were unanimously adopted.

Whereas "Knowledge is power," and an educated and intelligent people can neither be held in, nor reduced to, bondage, therefore,

Resolved, That we will insist upon the establishment of good schools for the thorough education of our children throughout the State; and that, to this end, we will contribute liberally of our means, and will earnestly and persistently forward every means calculated to elevate us to the rank and position of an enlightened and Christian people,

Resolved, That we solemnly urge the parents and guardians of the young and rising generation, by the sad recollection of our forced ignorance and degradation in the past, and by the bright and inspiring hopes of the future, to see that schools are, at once, if not already, established in every neighborhood; and, when so established, to see to it that every child of proper age is kept in regular attendance upon the same.

Resolved, That we appreciate, with hearts overflowing with gratitude, the noble and self-sacrificing spirit manifested by the various philanthropic and Christian associations of the North in providing teachers and establishing schools among us; and that we can only best testify such gratitude by heartily co-operating with them in their great work of love and humanity.

Resolved, That, as American chattel slavery has now passed forever away, we would cherish in our hearts no malice nor hatred toward those who were implicated in the crime of slaveholding; but would extend the right hand of fellowship to all; and would make it our special aim to establish unity, peace, and brotherhood among all men.

A resolution very justly complimentary to Gen. Saxton was also reported from the Business Committee, and adopted with a will, to wit:

Resolved, That this Convention desires to express, in behalf of the colored people of this State, its sincere gratitude to Brevet-Maj.-Gen. Saxton for the impartial manner in which he has guarded and protected the freedmen of this department, manifesting in all his intercourse with them the spirit of the soldier, the patriot and the Christian.

It was also

Resolved, That we earnestly solicit of the General Government the continuance of the Freedmen's Bureau until such time as full protection shall be guaranteed to us by the Constitution and laws of the State.

Resolved, That we have full faith in the stability of the National Government, and that we cheerfully accept our share of the burden of taxation, trusting that the day is not far distant when we shall receive its natural equivalent, the right of representation.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND WRONGS.

It is said in the Declaration of American Independence, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

That the phrase "all men" includes the negro, no one will attempt to deny; therefore we, the colored citizens of South Carolina, and of these United States of America, justly claim such rights as are set forth in the above-mentioned Declaration of Independence.

To secure the free enjoyment of these rights, is the proper object of civil governments.

Right is defined to be the just claim, ownership or lawful title, which a person has to anything. He has a right to his own body and mind, his money or other property, which he has honestly earned, and the right to dispose of the same as he will, provided this is not done to the injury of others and in violation of the laws founded upon the rights of men.

But in violation of the above principles, and of justice and humanity, we have been deprived of our natural rights which are founded in the laws of our being, which consist of personal liberty, the right of personal security, and protection against injuries to our bodies or good name.

These are a portion of our inalienable rights, because we cannot be justly deprived of them.

We have been deprived of the free exercise of political and civil rights, of natural, civil and political liberty.

The avenues of wealth and education have been closed to us. The strong will of prejudice, on the part of the dominant race, has obstructed our pursuit of happiness.

We have been subjected to cruel proscription, and our persons and our bodies have been outraged with impunity. We have been, and still are, deprived of the free choice of those who should govern us, and are subjected to an unjust taxation without representation, and have bled and toiled for the elevation of those who have degraded us, and still continue to oppress us.

Signed per order, and in behalf of the Convention.

THOMAS M. HOLMES, Pres.

JOHN C. DES VERNEY, Sec'y.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 24, 1865.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, in General Assembly met.

GENTLEMEN: We, the colored people of the State of South Carolina, do humbly appeal to you for justice.

The last four years of war have made great changes in our condition and relation to each other, as well as in the laws and institutions of our State. We were previously either slaves or, if free, still under the pressure of laws made in the interest and for the perpetuation of slavery.

But the events of the last four years have destroyed this state of things. Our State has been called upon to remodel her Constitution from its very foundation and first principles; and as we have been, and are still, deeply affected by all these changes in interests of vital importance to us, we have resolved, in the Convention which we have called together to consider our interests, to petition your honorable body for justice.

We ask that those laws that have been, which apply to us on account of our color, be repealed; and that in future none such be enacted. We do not presume to dictate to you, gentlemen, but we appeal to your own instincts of justice and generosity. Why should we suffer on account of the color that an all-wise Creator has given to us? Is it possible that the only reason for enacting stringent and oppressive laws for us is because our color is of a darker hue?

We feel assured, gentlemen, that no valid reason can exist for the enactment and perpetuation of laws that have peculiar application to us. We are now free. We are now *all* free. Both master and slave are now emancipated. But we are still, gentlemen, to a certain extent, in your power, and we need not assure you with what deep concern we are watching *all* your deliberations, but especially those that have reference to us.

We would ask your Honorable Body for the right of suffrage, and the right of testifying in courts of law. These two things we deem necessary to our welfare and elevation. They are the rights of every freeman, and are inherent and essential to every Republican form of government.

Our appeal is based upon justice. But we do not rely solely upon that. We appeal to your *generosity*. We are oppressed and powerless. It is in your power to do us justice, and grant us the opportunity of elevating ourselves. A gracious and all-wise Providence has placed it in your power to decide whether our future shall be gilded with hope, or darkened by despair. Whether you will become the generous helpers of those just emerging from a degrading servitude into the blessed light of liberty, or place further obstacles in their path.

We do sincerely hope that you will grant your petitioners their desires. We are natives of this State, and are deeply attached to our homes. We have lived together peacefully, heretofore, and we feel assured that nothing is needed to render our future relations mutually beneficial but the bestowment of the rights we ask. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc.

Signed per order, and in behalf of Convention,

THOMAS M. HOLMES, Pres.,

JOHN C. DES VERNEY, Sec'y.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 24, 1865.

ADDRESS OF THE STATE CONVENTION TO THE WHITE INHABITANTS OF THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: We have here assembled as delegates representing the colored people of the State of South Carolina, in the capacity of a State Convention, to confer together and to deliberate upon our intellectual, moral, industrial, civil and political condition, and particularly our condition as affected by the great changes which have recently taken place in this State and throughout this whole country, to declare our sentiments, and to devise ways and means which may, through the blessing of God, tend to our improvement, elevation, and progress, fully believing that our cause is one which commends itself to the hearts of all good men throughout the civilized world; that it is the sacred cause of truth and righteousness; that it particularly appeals to those professing to be governed by that faith which teaches that "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

These principles we conceive to embody the great duty of man to his fellow-man; and *as men* we only ask to be included in the practical application of this principle. We feel that the *justness* of our cause is a sufficient apology for our course at this time.

Heretofore we have had no avenues opened to us or our children. We have had no firesides that we might call our own—none of those incentives to work for the development of our minds and the aggrandizement of our race in common with other people. The measures which have been devised for the development of white men's children have been denied to us. The laws which have made white men powerful have degraded us, because we were black, and because we were reduced to the condition of chattels. But now that we are freemen—now that we are elevated, by the Providence of God, to manhood, we have resolved to stand up, and, like men, speak and act for ourselves. We fully recognize the truth of the maxim, "The gods help those who help themselves."

In making this appeal to you, we adopt the language of the immortal Declaration of Independence: that "all men are created equal" and that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," are the right of all; that taxation and representation should go together; that governments are ordained to protect, and not to subvert, the rights of man; that the Constitution of the United States was framed "to establish *justice*, to promote the *general* welfare, and to secure the blessing of liberty" to *all* the people of the land that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God;" these are all American principles and maxims, and, taken together, they form the constructive elements of the American Government.

We think we fully comprehend and duly appreciate the principles and measures which compose this platform; and all we desire or ask for is to be placed in a position that we could conscientiously and legitimately defend, with you, those principles against the surges of despotism to the last drop of our blood. We have not come together in battle array to "assume a boastful attitude and to talk loudly of high-sounding principles, or of unmeaning platitudes; nor do we pretend to any great boldness; for we remember your former wealth and greatness, and we know our poverty and weakness;" and although we feel keenly our wrongs, still we come together, we trust, in a spirit of meekness and of patriotic good-will toward all the people of the State. But yet it is some consolation to know, and it inspires us with hope when we reflect, that our cause is not alone the cause of four millions of black men in this country, but we are intensely alive to the fact that it is also the cause of millions of oppressed men in other "parts of God's beautiful earth," who are now struggling to be free in the fullest sense of the word, and God and nature are pledged to their triumph. We are Americans by birth, and we assure you that we are Americans in feeling; and in spite of all the wrongs which we have so long and *silently* endured in this country, we can yet exclaim, with a full heart, "O, America, with all thy faults we love thee still!"

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
That never to himself hath said,
'This is my own my native land?'
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned,
From wandering on a foreign strand?"

Thus we would address you—not as rebels and enemies, but as friends and fellow-countrymen, who desire to dwell among you in peace, and whose destinies are interwoven and linked with those of the whole American people, and hence must be filled in this country. As descendants of a race feeble and long oppressed, we might with propriety appeal to a great and magnanimous people like the American for special favor and encouragement, on the principle that the strong should aid the weak, and that the learned should teach the unlearned. But it is for no such purpose that we raise our voices to the people of South Carolina on this occasion. We ask for no special privileges, or peculiar favors. We ask only for *even-handed justice*—for the removal of such positive obstructions and disabilities as past and recent legislation has thrown in our way and heaped upon us. Without any just cause or provocation on our part, we, by the action of your Convention and Legislature, have with few exceptions, been virtually excluded—*First:* from the rights of citizenship, which you cheerfully accord to strangers, notwithstanding we have been born and reared in your midst, and were faithful while your greatest trials were upon you, and have done nothing since which could justly merit your disapprobation.

Second: We are denied the right of giving our testimony in the courts of the State, in consequence of which our persons and property are subject, the former to every species of violence and insult, and the latter to fraud and spoliation without redress.

Third: We are also, by the present laws, not only denied the right of citizenship—the inestimable right of choosing who shall rule over us in the land of our birth, but by the so-called "Black Code" we are deprived of the rights which are vouchsafed to the lowest white profligate in the country—the right to engage in any legitimate business save under such unjust restraints as are imposed upon no other class of people in the State.

Fourth: You have, by legislative action, placed barriers in the way of our improvement in the arts and sciences. You have given us little or no encouragement to engage in agricultural pursuits, by refusing to sell us lands, while you are organizing societies to bring foreigners into the country, the clear intent of which is to thrust us out, or reduce us to a serfdom intolerable to us, and, as you will find in the end, ruinous to your own prosperity.

Fifth: Your public journals wickedly charge us with destroying the products of the country, since we have been made free, when they know that the country, and the products thereof, were destroyed by a desolating war of four years, in which we had no hand. How unjust to charge upon the innocent and helpless the very crimes which yourselves have committed, and which brought down ruin upon your own heads!

Sixth: We simply ask that we shall be recognized as *men;* that there be *no obstructions* placed in our way; that the same laws which govern *white men* shall govern *black men;* that we have the right of trial by a jury of our *peers;* that schools be established for the education of *colored children* as well as *white*, and that the advantages of both colors shall, in this respect, be *equal;* that no impediments be put in the way of our acquiring homesteads for ourselves and our people; that, in short, we be dealt with as others are—in equity and justice.

Seventh: We claim that we deserve the confidence and good will of all classes of men. We ask that the same opportunities be extended to us that freemen have a right to demand at the hands of their fellow-citizens. We desire the growth and prosperity of this State, and the well-being of *all* men, and we would be found ever struggling to elevate ourselves and add to the glory of the national character. We trust that the day is not far distant when you will acknowledge that our progress in social, intellectual, moral, and religious development *entitles us to the highest* commendation and respect, and that we shall be worthy to occupy, with the best in the land, positions of trust and power; when we shall realize the great truth that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," and that, although complexions may differ, "a man's a man for a' that."

Signed per order, and in behalf of Convention,

THOMAS M. HOLMES, Pres.

JOHN C. DES VERNEY, Sec'y.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled.

GENTLEMEN: We, the colored people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, respectfully present for your attention some prominent facts in relation to our present condition, and make a modest yet earnest appeal to your considerate judgment.

We, your memorialists, with profound gratitude to Almighty God, recognize the great boon of freedom conferred upon us by the instrumentality of our late President, Abraham Lincoln, and the armies of the United States—

"The fixed decree, which not all heaven can move,
Thou, Fate, fulfil it, and, ye Powers, approve."

We also recognize, with liveliest gratitude, the vast service of the Freedmen's Bureau, together with the efforts of the good and wise throughout our land, to raise up an oppressed and deeply injured people in the scale of civilized being during the throbbings of a mighty revolution, which must affect the future destiny of the world.

Conscious of the difficulties that surround our position, we would ask for no right or privilege but such as rests upon the strong basis of justice and expediency, in view of the best interests of our entire country.

We ask, first, that the strong arm of law and order be placed *alike* over the entire people of this State; that life and property be secure, and the laborer as free to sell his labor as the merchant his goods.

We ask that a fair and impartial construction be given to the pledges of Government to *us* concerning the land question.

We ask that the three great agents of civilized society—the school, the pulpit, the press—be as secure in South Carolina as in Massachusetts or Vermont.

We ask that equal suffrage be conferred upon us in common with the white men of this State.

This we ask because all free governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and we are largely in majority in this State, bearing for a long period the burden of an odious taxation without a just representation.

We ask for equal suffrage as a protection from hostility evoked by our known faithfulness to our country's flag during the Slaveholders' Rebellion.

We ask that colored men shall not in every instance be tried by white men; and that neither by custom nor enactment shall we be excluded from the jury-box.

We ask that inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States *explicitly* declares that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, and the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, that the late efforts of the Legislature of this State to pass an act to deprive us of arms be *forbidden* as a plain violation of the Constitution, and unjust to many of us in the *highest* degree, who have been soldiers and purchased our muskets from the United States Government when mustered out of the service.

We protest against any code of black laws the Legislature of this State has enacted, or may hereafter enact, and pray to be governed by the same laws that control other men. The right to assemble in peaceful convention to discuss the political questions of the day; the right to enter upon all avenues of trade, commerce, agriculture, to amass wealth by thrift and industry; the right to develop our *whole being*, by all the appliances that belong to civilized society, cannot be questioned by any class of intelligent legislators.

We solemnly affirm our desire to live orderly and peacefully with all the people of this State, and commending this memorial to your considerate judgment, thus we ever pray.

Signed per order and in behalf of Convention.

THOMAS M. HOLMES, Pres.

JOHN C. DES VERNEY, Sec'y.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 24, 1865.

The authors of the Memorial, Address to the Legislature of South Carolina, Address to the People of South Carolina, and the Bill of Rights and Wrongs, are all colored men: Jonathan C. Gibbs—Memorial to Congress of the United States; F. J. Cardoza—Legislature of South Carolina

THE DISTURBANCES IN JAMAICA.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

THE deplorable disturbances in Jamaica, particulars of which we published a few days ago, have afforded a congenial theme to a certain section of the press in this country, and no effort has been spared to make the impression upon the public mind that the affair was nothing short of a wide-spread *jacquerie*, having for its object the extermination of the white and brown inhabitants of that island. A cursory perusal of our Jamaica files by the last Kingston mail led us, however, to quite a different conclusion; and now that we have, by careful collation of the accounts given in the different newspapers, acquainted ourselves with all the facts of the case, we are convinced that the outbreak was nothing more than a riot, which might have been suppressed without a resort to martial law, and the wholesale shooting and hanging by which the lives of thousands of the black people were sacrificed in the short space of three weeks. Not only is there not a tittle of evidence of any kind published in the newspapers in support of the statement that the outbreak in St. Thomas was part of a widely-ramified plot for the destruction of the whites and browns, but the accounts of the so-called rebellion furnished by the Jamaica journals—although all *ex parte*—are of the most self-contradictory character.

Altogether, twelve lives, including the volunteers, were taken by the blacks. Subsequently, the same evening, one planter, a white man, was attacked in his house, and died the next morning from the wounds he received. For these thirteen lives over two thousand blacks have been put to death, and hundreds of others whipped, receiving from fifty to one hundred lashes with "a cat" on the bare back, while whole townships inhabited by the negroes have been reduced to ashes.

It may be said that after the bloody affair at Morant Bay the negroes committed excesses. But what were those excesses? Beyond the killing of the planter already referred to, not a single life was taken by them. Not a woman or a child was touched. Indeed, when, in the alarm of the moment, one white lady, with her children, was flying from her residence, "some fifty of the Hordly people" (blacks), says the correspondent of the Kingston newspaper, "with *faithful, humane and honest hearts*, met them at the foot of the hill" and took them under their protection; and, in another case, a number of negroes "carried a Mrs. Harrison,"—the wife of a planter—"on their shoulders and in their arms from the plantation on which she resided to the village of Bath," where she thought she would be in greater safety than on the estate, her husband being absent from home at the time. The excesses committed by the blacks consisted in the plundering of houses, whose occupants had fled in alarm, leaving them to be pillaged by the rogues and vagabonds who, in such circumstances of excitement and trouble as then existed in the parish, are always found ready to plunder. Nor can it be said that owing to the promptitude with which the military were moved to the scene of the disturbances, and martial law proclaimed, the blacks had no time to carry out their intentions, for it appears that it was fully 24 hours after the Morant Bay slaughter before the soldiers reached that place, and during this time, had the blacks been so disposed, they had ample opportunity of perpetrating the indiscriminate massacre which it is alleged entered into their original plans; for, the police and the volunteers having been scattered, there was no force left in the parish to oppose any resistance whatever to them. It strikes us, too, as somewhat remarkable, that not a single body of hostile blacks was found in any part of the disturbed district by the military, who, it seems, so small was the danger actually apprehended, were sent out against the negroes in detachments of fifteen and twenty soldiers each; and in one case we find that a party of only three soldiers were sent out, who, after roaming over the district for two days, succeeded in capturing a number of unarmed negroes, and in shooting down several who were trying to run away and hide themselves in the woods. Meanwhile the Kingston newspapers, at the time when the disturbances in St. Thomas were at their height, put forth statements, from day to day, to the effect that in all the districts immediately adjacent to the Parish of St. Thomas, as well as in all other parts of the island, order and quiet prevailed among the people, who were industriously engaged in their every-day avocations.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

From the Charleston (S. C.) Leader.

THE man whose name heads this article has uttered many noble words for freedom, at a time when it required a brave man so to do. We have always admired his independence as we now regret his erration. He preached a discourse some weeks since at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., not exactly in harmony with some of his previous declarations. The Copperhead papers of the North praised him for it, and the secession journals of the South intimated that he had seen the error of his way and was sensible at last. Mr. Beecher saw no harm in being complimented by rebels and traitors, but his friends did and were grieved at it.

He recently made another speech at the Cooper Institute, New York, in which he said that "the Southern States are almost as ready to support the Federal Government as the Northern States." It seems impossible for Mr. Beecher not to have known better. In Charleston to-day the proportion of secessionists is greater than when the secession ordinance was first passed. And the proportion will continue to increase so long as men of Mr. Beecher's stamp continue to make overtures to rebels.

Again, he says: "We must not ask the Southerners to give up their convictions simply because the fortunes of war have gone against them." Their convictions are that they had a right to secede, but we must not ask them to give up their convictions. We ask that Mr. Beecher and the secessionists give up their convictions upon this subject, because the judgment of God has gone against them.

A missionary, laboring among the colored people here, upon reading the recent speech we have alluded to, gave as his opinion that it was time for Mr. Beecher to come forward for prayers, and there are thousands of his colored friends here who would pray heartily for him. "While the lamp holds out to burn, etc."

THE FREEDMEN.

MONTHLY REPORT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE NATIONAL FREEDMEN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

THE monthly report of the Executive Committee of the National Freedmen's Relief Association, dated 25th November, says that the disbursements for educational purposes the past month have been more than $5,000, although but a very small part of the field is yet occupied. Operations have been greatly restricted by the want of funds to meet the expense entailed, if attempts should be made to answer all the appeals for assistance. The committee say that the importance of the educational work cannot be too highly estimated; but unless public benevolence is more thoroughly aroused, the association cannot even retain the present corps of teachers in the field, much less attempt to increase its numbers. The schools that are established are well organized and crowded with eager pupils. An extract from a letter of Capt. Barnes, Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau at Petersburg, Virginia, embracing seventeen counties, with a population of one hundred and thirty thousand negroes, is given by the committee. The Captain says that at a distribution of clothing in Petersburg, some time ago, it was found that forty grown girls had each nothing but a dress on—no underclothing or shoes. Many boys in the streets had no covering but shirts—hundreds of men and women, too old to work, and doubtless broken down by the tasks of other days, were covered with a few rags.

In view of these distressing facts, the committee urge immediate action to arouse a more active sympathy with these suffering people.

The shipments for November were of the value of $12,111 94, more than one-half in clothing for distribution. Of the remainder, the amount of $2,600 was in goods for the stores at Newbern and Roanoke Island, $675 in books, etc., for the schools, $500 in necessaries for the orphans' house at Charleston, and $1,400 in materials were sent to societies acting with the Ladies' Committee, to be made up gratuitously into clothing.

The receipts have been of fifty-one packages of clothing and eight barrels of vegetables.

George Whipple, Esq., corresponding secretary of the American Missionary Association, New York, in a letter under date of November 24, 1865, says:

From the superintendents of schools, from officers appointed by Government and others, alarming reports relative to the condition and prospects of the freedmen have claimed our attention, and demand immediate action.

The restoration of abandoned and confiscated lands is fast rendering houseless and homeless and helpless thousands of these families. In one district in Virginia, the present superintendent says that probably fifteen thousand of these people will be turned away from their homes and left with no means of support. On one plantation or farm called Acretown, because each family had one acre assigned it, were three hundred families, many of them wives and children or widows and orphans of colored soldiers. This farm is ordered to be cleared.

In another district of Virginia it is estimated by those best qualified to know, that not less than twenty thousand persons will be thus made homeless, and the superintendent of schools in that State, under the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau, says that in Eastern Virginia, at a low estimate, the number who are thus being ejected from the farms, which are being repossessed by late rebel owners, cannot be less than 70,000, and that the great majority of them will be left not only utterly homeless, but without any possible means of support, just at the beginning of winter. Disease and death have already commenced their work, and we dare not trust ourselves to state the numbers of those who, it is estimated, must perish before the opening of spring, unless the kindness of Government or an abounding charity bring swift relief.

Like causes are coming into operation in South Carolina and elsewhere, and thousands upon thousands, unless Government interposes in their behalf, will be driven from their little homes and left by former owners to perish.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1865.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

THE STANDARD Subscribers to whom bills are sent, will confer a favor by remitting the amounts due at their earliest convenience.

CONGRESS—THE MESSAGE.

IF it be the first step that costs, as the maxim tells us, then have we indeed reason to hope that a Congress whose first step has been made so decisively in the right path will advance hereafter to the ultimate goal of universal Freedom and Justice to all. At one bound, the House placed itself in the van. It went far ahead of any course that had been marked out for it by any Republican journal. It adopted a resolution, the effect and the undoubted purpose of which were to ignore the President's policy and schemes of Reconstruction. It does not admit the existence of any rebel States yet competent to send representatives to Congress. Of course, it refuses to recognize in any way the persons claiming admittance into the House; but bars its doors, and builds up outside of them a committee room through which, as through a Purgatory of unlimited probation, all applicants from insurgent States must grope their uncertain way—subject to much inquisition meanwhile. The resolution is this:

Resolved (by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled), That a joint committee of fifteen shall be appointed, nine of whom shall be members of the House and six of the Senate, who shall inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they or any of them are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress, with leave to report at any time by bill or otherwise; and until such report shall have been made and finally acted upon by Congress, no member shall be received in either House from any of the so-called Confederate States, and all papers relating to the representatives of the said States shall be referred, without debate, to the said committee.

It is remarkable that this was adopted unanimously by a Republican caucus in which both Conservatives and Radicals were fully represented, and that the leader of each was upon the committee which reported it—Mr. Stevens and Mr. Raymond uniting in a policy which involved the surrender of every principle for which the latter, as the mouthpiece of the Administration, has been for six months contending in the *Times*. Many will be ready to find an explanation of this in the circumstance that Mr. Raymond had become satisfied it was hopeless to resist the Radical majority, and preferred, as his wont is, to yield gracefully and profitably by such a capitulation as might grant him terms, or even partial compensation on less essential points. Be that as it may, the surrender on this question is complete, and the adoption of this resolution, preceded by the refusal of Mr. McPherson to place any Rebel claimant on the roll, is a victory the full value of which can only be measured by considering what it would have cost us if the struggle had turned the other way.

The time of its passage is not the least significant thing about it. The Republican party did not choose to wait for a declaration from the President of *his* opinion. Of his policy they considered themselves able to judge by its public progress during eight months past; and having made up their minds on that, were not to be changed by any apology he could now offer. Therefore, on the first day of the Session and before the President has time to send in his message, they pass a resolution equivalent to a vote of want of confidence in his Administration on the most vital issue which his Administration has presented. For this prompt rebuke to the Executive, we believe the country is indebted to the skilful leadership and unflinching courage of Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania.

The message was telegraphed at an hour which leaves us but little time to discuss it this week. So much of it as relates to matters of Reconstruction we print in another column. Considered either as a narrative of events or as a statement of policy, it is vague, incomplete, disingenuous. It does, however, offer abundant evidence that though the President has ceased to regard his policy as an experiment, he is aware of the profound dissatisfaction with that policy which pervades his own party. We may conjecture that the message would have been considerably modified had the President known in season what would be the action of the Republican caucus. But when that caucus met, the message had been read to several Senators, and was already in type. The moment for change had passed.

The President plants himself on the theory that it is impossible for a State to secede from the Union; and from that, with the help of a preliminary dissertation on constitutional law, attempts to deduce the necessary character of his scheme of reconstruction. We might admit his premises without being in the least danger of assenting to his conclusion. Whether the States were ever out of the Union or not, they were for four years without any legal State Governments, and their relations to the Federal Government were therefore in abeyance. They would have continued so but for the suppression of their resistance by the military force of the Union; and when that resistance was once overcome, the States were still as much as ever without governments, and there was no way provided by the Constitution nor known to the law by which State governments could be again created. A condition of things existed which the Constitution never anticipated, and for which it was without specific remedy. In fact, the States were ruled by military power, and there was no authority except Congress competent to say when that military rule should cease and how civil government should be resumed. What the President had to do was to retain his military control, preserve order, and wait for Congress to assemble. Instead of that, he chose to begin a policy of Reconstruction on his own account, ignoring Congress. Congress now retorts by ignoring his experiment, and assuming its proper control over the whole subject.

This plain statement disposes of most of the President's long argument. But he cannot escape a conviction of inconsistency in the prosecution of his policy. The arguments he gravely brings forward in its support have been again and again refuted during the summer's debate on these questions. In discussing what he calls "the relations of the general government toward the four millions of *inhabitants* [not citizens] whom the war has called into freedom," he bases his denial of the franchise to them on the statement that the Constitution leaves the States to decide for themselves the conditions of the elective franchise. It is difficult to reply to such an argument with proper decorum, for it is difficult to believe it honestly advanced. Within the meaning of the Constitution there *are* no States competent to decide such a question, for the rebel States are to be built up from their foundations. If there be a State, what is it? What composes it—people or territory? If territory, the Federal Government must legislate for it. If people, then *all* the people; for there exists no organic law to deprive any portion of the people of any of their rights. Does the Constitution permit the President to prescribe loyalty as a condition of the ballot? If not, neither does it permit him to prescribe color; yet he has done both. He has appointed Provisional Governors. What clause in the Constitution empowered him to do that? He has imposed various conditions, no one of which implies a greater usurpation of authority than the denial of the ballot to the black. And when he says a concession of the franchise to the colored men must have extended to colored men in the loyal States, the answer is conclusive that he was no more obliged to give suffrage to a colored voter in Connecticut than to appoint a Provisional Governor for that State.

Although we cannot be surprised, we still are grieved to say that the tone of this paper in its treatment of the freedmen, is utterly repulsive. There is no improvement since the speech to the colored regiment. The President does not mean they shall have the ballot, and he is not clear they can be permitted to remain in the country. With a manifest sneer at Northern philanthropy, he suggests that they will receive the kindest usage from their old masters. And in the full knowledge that South Carolina is rushing through her pretended Legislature a new slave code, of inhuman atrocity, he declares that "the public interest will be best promoted if the several *States* [not Congress] will provide adequate protection and remedies for the freedmen." Happily for the negro and for the country, Congress shows itself of a different mind. We have some right to hope that not the doctrines of the message but the beneficent legislation which Sumner, Wade, and Wilson in the Senate, and Kelley in the House have already inaugurated, will hereafter govern this country.

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS AND THEIR INDIAN PROSELYTES.

WITHIN the last few days the newspapers have contained the following intelligence from Arkansas:

The rebel Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians are waging a terrible persecution against the colored people. It seems these Indians are incensed because they must submit to their emancipation by the Government, and are determined to vent their malice on the blacks, who have been their slaves. They abuse them in every way they can—beating some to death and shooting others. At the beginning of the war many of the negroes left their families in these nations and came to the Union lines—joined our army and fought the rebels. Some enlisted in the loyal Indian regiments, and some joined the Kansas colored. Since they are mustered out of service, they and their families are shot down like dogs by these wretches, and cannot tread on Choctaw soil only at the peril of their lives. These Indians are aware that their ownership of negroes ceases, which fires their hatred against them. The military authorities here say they have no orders in the premises. So the negroes must wait until an order is issued in their favor.

Another item of news last week was the pardoning of Albert Pike, known in the war as the instigator if not leader of the hostile slaveholding Indians, whose war-whoop and scalping-knife added to the horrors of many a battle-field.

For more than half a century the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has had existence, its centre being in Boston. Its membership has extended over the whole country. Its field of operations is not the world, but only that part of it denominated "*heathen*." Some communities it claims to have civilized and Christianized. That done, it passed them over to the Domestic Missionary Associations to be cared for, if they needed aid or encouragement in sustaining the institutions of their new religion.

Of these last were the Choctaw and Cherokee Indians, banished many years ago from Georgia to the wilds west of the Mississippi River. In his native haunts and conditions, no Indian ever held a slave. But as evil communications always corrupt good manners, so these Indians learned of the slaveholding saints and elders near them the terrible doctrine that one church-member may own other church-members and sell them as workers, breeders, matrons, mistresses, or for any other human relation consistent with their inevitable condition as chattel slaves. That frightful circumstance, and all the incidents growing out of it, were ever to be had in view. Sometimes churches and parishes owned slaves and leased them out per annum, to pay ministerial and other expenditures, including those of the sacramental supper. And instances are related of slave ministers of distinguished eloquence being owned by churches and allowed to travel a part of the year as missionaries and preachers, alone or with white ministers.

The following advertisement is from the Charleston *Courier* of the 12th of February, 1835:

"FIELD NEGROES, by Thomas Gadsden. On Tuesday, the 17th instant, will be sold at the north of the Exchange, at 10 o'clock a. m., a prime gang of ten negroes, accustomed to the culture of cotton and provisions, belonging to the *Independent Church, Christ's Church Parish.*"

The Savannah *Republican*, of March 13th, 1845, had an advertisement of which the following is one item:

"Also, at the same time will be sold the following negro slaves, to wit: Charles, Peggy Antoinette, Davy September, Maria, Jenny and Isaac, levied on as the property of Henry T. Hall, to satisfy a mortgage fi. fa. issued out of McIntosh Superior Court in favor of the Board of Directors of *the Theological Seminary* of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia *vs.* Henry T. Hall. Conditions, cash. Signed, C. O'NEAL,
"Dept. Sheriff."

Of such a people and religion was the American Board. No evangelical association ever put forth such pretensions. It went down to the world and obtained an "Act of Incorporation," in addition to the commission it claimed to have received already from on high. It owns a palatial "Missionary House" in Boston. It boasted itself the "mighty angel, flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and tongue, and people," as read in the rapt visions of Patmos. In its earliest beamings it claimed the homage as of another star of Bethlehem, the morning dawn of millennial glory. Its conquests were to be multiplied without ceasing, until the apocalyptic song was heard in heaven, "Now are the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever!" The early history and literature of the Board justify every word of this description. And now behold, among the first fruits of its husbandry, the Indians, whose deeds are presented in the news items at the head of this article!

One of the earliest labors of the Abolitionists was an attempt to purify the religion of the country from the crimes and guilt of slavery. In this, they had at first, the hearty co-operation of many ministers and others, both men and women, in almost all the denominations. But the love of most of them soon waxed cold. The Friends or Quakers had already made slave holding a disciplinary offence. The Scotch Covenanters, not a numerous body, were more severe in their discipline against the sin than the Friends. But the great denominations were found to be mostly joined to the national idol, and earnestly desired to be let alone. Hence the irrepressible conflict between the Church and the Abolitionists. The nature of the conflict is clearly seen in the encounter with the American Board respecting its operations among the Indians. Mr. Giddings, and others who have written extensively on the subject, have shown that one reason why the slaveholders desired the removal of the Indians out of Georgia and Florida was, that their wigwams were often an asylum to the fugitives from the plantations, where no Fugitive Law, or blood-hounds as yet could pursue them.

The Indians were at length driven away to new and dismal homes in the then unknown wilds of the West. And thither the American Board pursued them, professing to desire and to seek their salvation. The Indians were barbarians and heathen; the Board was civilized, enlightened and Christian. And it taught the Indian—what he scarcely knew before—that man can rightfully, lawfully hold property in man! can trample him down to a level with the brute, and inflict tortures and torments on his body and the pangs of the second death on his soul, and yet be himself a member of the Church Militant on earth, and of the Church Triumphant in heaven. Such a religion was the Board inflicting on the untutored sons and daughters of the forest, when the anti-slavery movement lifted its long-needed light on the darkness of the land.

And the American Board of Missions claimed early attention. Year after year the nature of its unhallowed operations was exposed. Wherever the missionaries erected an altar, there the Moloch of slavery claimed right to worship and even to be worshipped. Its loathsome folds wound up the stairs of the pulpit; its basilisk eyes flashed amid the communion cups; its forked tongue darted venom and vengeance at whoever or whatever questioned its divinity. But the gaze of the Abolitionists could not be turned away. The unhallowed work was so shown and seen as to excite the wonder and amazement of mankind. On both sides of the Atlantic—indeed, throughout Christendom—the cry was raised; What new mysteries of savage brutality, unknown, unheard of before, are these sons of nature and the forest learning of the most enlightened, Republican, and professedly Christian people and priesthood under the whole heaven?

On a full and careful inquiry, in which the Board itself bore a part, it appeared that the missionaries were themselves sustaining slavery in at least four ways:

First, they never rebuked it as a sin, though existing among them in its most revolting form: then they readily received slave holders into the mission churches: thirdly, they hired slaves of their masters and paid the masters for their labor while the slaves toiled without pay: and lastly, they appealed to their sacred Scriptures to prove that the system was in perfect accordance with the Divine Will. Here is what the Cherokee missionaries themselves wrote to the officers of the Board:

"In regard to the question of rejecting any person from the church *simply* because he is a *slaveholder*, we cannot for a moment hesitate. For (1) we regard it as *certain* that *the Apostles, who are our patterns, did receive slaveholders to the communion of the Church*; and (2) our general rule is to receive all to our communion who give evidence that they love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; and we cannot doubt that *many slaveholders do give such evidence.*

"Nor can we even make it a test of piety, or a condition of admission to the privileges of the Church, that a candidate *should express a determination not to live and die a slaveholder.* We regard it as IMPOSSIBLE TO EXERCISE DISCIPLINE FOR THE BUYING OR SELLING OF SLAVES, except in flagrant cases of manifest disregard to the welfare of the slave. In regard to the separation of parents and children, we must first remark, that it is one of those things which are not forbidden by any *express* INJUNCTION OF SCRIPTURE. * * * It is impossible, in our circumstances to make it a general rule that the separation of parents and children, by sale or purchase, shall be regarded as a disciplinable offence."

The Choctaw missionaries reported a long letter to the same authorities in which they declared:

"We have endeavored as a mission to keep aloof from the Abolition movement.

"We feel that the Bible contains all that we have need to know or teach. And we prefer TO USE THE PLAIN LANGUAGE OF THE BIBLE, just as it is, UPON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

"We wish to touch briefly on the history of our connection with slavery. *We have been and are connected with it in two ways*; by employing slaves as laborers, and by admitting them *and their masters to the Church!*

"Several masters have given evidence of piety, and were received into the Church BECAUSE THE APOSTLES HAVE SET US PLAIN EXAMPLES.

"As a civil relation, it [slavery] exists by virtue of the Constitution and laws of the land. We are taught in the Bible our duties as citizens. It may be deemed our duty by some to adopt a train of measures which shall *aim in their object* directly to countervail the whole system, and in the end undermine the entire fabric which human legislation has framed in regard to slavery. *We do not feel that we are required to adopt such a course.*

"As slavery, with various modifications, has for a long time had an existence *in the Church of God*, it is proper for us to INQUIRE HOW THE SERVANTS OF THE LORD IN OLD TIME WERE TAUGHT BY HIM, AS WELL AS HOW THEY CONDUCTED IN REGARD TO IT."

Some of the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians were slaveholders, as the Board well knew, when the missionaries went first among them. And no instructions were given to the missionaries to rebuke the sin, or make it any obstacle to church membership. Missionaries were themselves slaveholders in some instances; and Rev. Mr. Treat, one of the Acting Secretaries for the Board, actually represented the increased number of slaves in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations and the general preference there felt for investing money in this "species of property," as one of the results of "the doctrines of the Gospel having exerted their appropriate influence!" The *Missionary Herald*, the official organ of the Association, for October, 1848, page 349, will attest the truth of these astounding statements. Do all the annals of impiety or atheism, in olden or modern time, present any parallel to this? Behold almost a million of untimely graves, and a nation—an empire of thirteen great States—buried like Pompeii in the ashes of desolation, for this one sin and crime of slavery! And this mighty missionary enterprise, claiming to be almost the one light-house to the port of heaven, thus gilded over that sin as godliness; even adduced its growth and spread among the heathen Indians as evidence of their increasing advance in Christian civilization! Match this who can! Never looked sun or stars on such a spectacle before. When the rebellion burst forth, these Indians—hounded on, it was said, if not led, by the recently pardoned Albert Pike—became some of the most desperate and deadly foes of the Federal authority. Pike (we were told) is a gentleman, a scholar, a poet, a Massachusetts man, and a New England Christian. The Indians had been taught by example and precept that slave-breeding, slave-trading and slaveholding were all consistent with Christian character and profession; indeed were solemnly sanctioned and sanctified by Scripture declaration, and the practice of patriarchs and apostles. They had even heard their slavery officially adduced as evidence of their growth in Christian civilization. And now we have the terrible revelation of their treatment of the "colored people who have been their slaves, beating some to death and shooting others!" Now we are told how "they and their families are shot down like dogs;" and that they "cannot tread on Choctaw soil but at the peril of their lives," though many Indian converts have become rich by their labors, as some of the missionaries once could boast. Verily, the garments of the Board and its missionaries hang heavy about them, dripping with the blood of many bodies and souls! They have made the last state of the poor aborigines worse than their first. It shall be more tolerable in the judgment of the great day and of the world's history, for Sodom, Egypt, Babylon, Chorazin, Capernaum, Jerusalem, than for such a Board! Nor are they seeking to-day to make atonement, or restitution, or to proclaim a holier gospel, though the land quakes under the tread of the divinest judgments. Henry Ward Beecher would not have the South humbled, would not have her sacrifice her theories nor her self respect—in a word, would not have her repent, still less bring forth the fruits of repentance, justice to her former slaves, and mercy for past cruelty and oppression. Connecticut, his native State, he said, robs the colored man of his rights; and why may not the Carolinas? O, no! Mr. Beecher "would not ask the South to abandon her old theories."

And Gov. Parsons, in his message to the Alabama Legislature, echoes the terrible gospel of Beecher, though but in part. He dares only say, "The brave and generous people with whom we fought do not expect us to sacrifice our self-respect. They do not wish to see us return to the Union emasculated, divested of all manhood and natural feeling!" He knows well of whom he speaks.

Meanwhile, the still wretched and forlorn colored man fares no worse among the Indians than among the white inhabitants of Alabama and Arkansas. And the Board that taught them such doctrines of devils, repents not of its fell work, and preaches no better than before. The Northern pulpits do not proclaim justice and righteousness, and the people stumble in the dark places of a reconstruction policy that, if persisted in, leads but to more fearful calamity than has been seen or known before. And the South is exhorted with most sacramental fervor to hold on to her old theories, and preserve her self-respect. And so together they wrap it up.

BROOKLYN FRATERNITY.—Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson is engaged to the Brooklyn Fraternity for a course of three lectures, to be delivered—the two first on Friday and Saturday evenings, 15th and 16th inst., and the third on Tuesday evening, the 19th—in the Atheneum. Subjects—Social Aims; Resources; Books and Culture.

Brooklyn could not have done herself greater honor than in even this short engagement with Mr. Emerson. To no other man, probably, does the Lyceum owe more, if so much, for its reputation and influence as an American Institution, or the nation for its present advance towards an elevated system of philosophy and thought, whether in the department of literature, morals, or religion.

THE PRESIDENT'S JEWELS.

THERE were two women in Rome, one of whom thought her best treasure consisted in pearls and diamonds, the other called her children her richest jewels. Now (though the Emperor Napoleon may have many precious crown *bijoux*), what though we have a President for our Chief Magistrate, and what though we have spent millions of treasure in the war, we are not yet so poor that Mr. Johnson could not afford to have some jewels of his own. They are not pearls, nor diamonds, nor rubies, nor yet right, nor honor, nor truth; but simply those Baltimore ladies who came to ask for the pardon and release of Jeff. Davis. "My countrymen," says the President to the soldiers who have spilled their blood and imperiled their lives in the service of the Republic, black though they be, "go home, and do not lie down in dissipation." "You are my jewels," he says to the ladies who dishonor themselves and womanhood in general by asking for the pardon of a man who has done his best to destroy the Republic—"I want your help and your prayers. All men, ladies, are under the influence of woman; and I not less than other men." Alas! it is a long time, indeed, since Mr. Johnson was under the influence of any manly spirit! He might have spared the effort which it undoubtedly cost him to call the black soldiers of the Republic his "countrymen." We do not know but they might refuse to be his. "Liberty means the right to work;" and of course, "it would give me far greater pleasure, ladies, to accede to your request than it would give you to have it granted," since the man whose pardon you ask has spent his whole life in trying to assert that kind of liberty and establish that right, "throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants thereof" without any distinction of color, in *this* case. "Mr. Davis has been a great leader in the war against the Government. But I sympathize with him in his sufferings," which his treason has brought upon him. "We are all proud of you, Mr. Johnson," say the ladies. So are we. "Almost every act of your Administration has been marked by wisdom and moderation." Just our opinion—and Henry Ward Beecher's. "We believe God raised you up, as he did Cyrus." So do we. "We believe that you are good." So do we. "We know that you are wise and great." So do we. "Send us away with melody in our hearts;" the ladies continue, "and we know that we shall have a little niche in history, if we obtain this great honor." And Mr. Johnson listens attentively, then hesitates, then answers; "I regret more than I can express that I cannot grant the petition." "No knight of old," said one of the ladies, "could have been more gentle in his refusal." No knight of old, we are certain, would ever have decked himself with such "jewels." No knight of old, or no *man* of modern times, would have lost such a golden opportunity to speak a word for honor, and truth, and justice. There is an old story that fairies once gifted a little girl with dropping pearls from her mouth whenever she opened it to speak. But such wonders do not happen any more. How can we expect such jewels as honor, truth, and justice, to fall from the lips of our President? Not a syllable was breathed about the shame that American women should come to beg pardon for a man who has trampled upon the U. S. flag, and all the human rights it shields, whose crime is treason to the freest government on the globe, whose life is forfeited by all the laws of earth, and whose soul is damned by all the laws of Heaven. Not a syllable was uttered to tell these women, if they did not yet know it, that the "niche in history" which Mr. Davis will occupy is one of infamy, and that the "melody" in their own hearts is a war-song of treason and rebellion.

But though he did not grant their petition, the President said that, "when the proper time comes for the exercise of magnanimity, I trust I shall not be found wanting." Fear not, Mr. Johnson, we do not doubt you. When the proper time comes for the exercise of magnanimity; that is, when Mr. Davis has been tried and declared guilty, and sentenced to death, and the finding of the court is submitted for the approval of the President, then he will not be "found wanting," in pardoning the greatest rebel in the land. Whenever a word is to be said in favor of traitors, or against the "dissipation" of colored troops, he shall not be "found wanting." Whenever rebellious Southern delegates knock at the doors of Congress, he shall not be "found wanting" in doing his best to have them admitted. But he may be "found wanting" some day as a jewel in the affections of the whole loyal North, in the esteem of all intelligent men, and in the good wishes of those black "countrymen" who "must not lie down in dissipation." Yet, what matters it, so long as he has the "help and the prayers" of those Baltimore "jewels" of his, while justice, blindfolded, indeed, by reconstruction and State rights, is left "out in the cold?"

A FABLE FOR THE TIMES.

BY M. D. CONWAY.

ONCE upon a time an eaglet was playing with some pigs, when a cat made its appearance. The eaglet swiftly flew to its perch.

"Why do you rush to your perch?" asked the pigs.

"I don't like the looks of that cat," replied the eaglet.

"Why not?" urged the pigs; "surely she is very beautiful; see what jewels her eyes are, and how velvety is her fur."

"To you," replied the eaglet, "those are very pleasant, for cats do not harm pigs; but her race has so long been a foe to mine, that what is beautiful to you is perilous to me. Those eyes, jewels to you, seem yellow and hungry to me; that velvet is her provision for creeping on birds unawares. In a matter where I am especially interested, I prefer my instinct to your reasoning."

And with that the eaglet gave a screech which brought an old eagle with huge beak and talons, and the cat thought it prudent to retire.

MORAL: When a Southern Democratic politician, accidentally made President, is "experimenting" upon a class which he and his kind have long helped to oppress, it is safe for us to trust the instinct of that oppressed class and its friends as to the character of such experiments. The glittering eyes of the Sharkeys and Perrys, and the velvety fur of conciliation, cannot hide the plantation-cat from the negro and his life-long friends, for long experience has developed an instinct in them. As for Democrats and power-seeking Republicans, they can freely "endorse the President's policy;" it does not prey on *them*; they are the *pigs*.

LETTER FROM GEN. THOMPSON.

THE following is from a private letter to a gentleman in this city under date

ELIOT VALE, BLACKHEATH, LONDON, 14th Nov., 1865.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose our latest proceedings. It would certainly have been a great advantage to *us*, if what we did could have been to any extent reproduced in America. We are *burked* here, as not suiting the milk-and-water tactics of our Abolitionists. There is only one paper (*Hereford Times*) which has ever given any of the leaders on Slavery questions. It has therefore been endeavored to introduce that subject with the *letters*, which from some cause or other have a somewhat wider introduction to the press.

We are puzzled just now with the Jamaica affair. I have strong suspicion it will prove to have originated in a desire to play into the hands of the Southern States; one reason being, that there has been up to this time a cautious avoidance of any explanation of the *causes* of the outbreak. When a colonial government went the length of putting a tax of ten shillings on the act of voting, by way of preventing the votes of the poorer classes, there is nothing that may not be believed. England appears to have given up all government in the colonies into the hands of colonial jobbers, of which she will at some time feel the consequences. We could have said a good deal here which might have been useful in America. But if it cannot be, we must submit, as to any other mysterious determination of Providence.

Yours, very sincerely,

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

LONDON LANDMARKS.—The old landmarks are fast disappearing. They who would look once more on the house in Kensington where Sir Isaac Newton died, in March, 1727, had need bestir themselves. The fine old red brick house in Orbell's Buildings, as it was called when Newton occupied the mansion, but subsequently Pitt's Buildings, has two announcements on its gates. One advertises a sale of the furniture, the other of the materials of the house itself, which is to be demolished. The place is worth a visit. It has altogether an old-world air; and a bit of the reign of Queen Anne, as it were, will go into dust, when the residence falls where Mead watched the dying Addison.

PERSONAL.

Bayard Taylor has had a quarrel with the Cincinnati *Gazette*, which accuses him of saying little in his lectures that could not be found elsewhere.

The (London) *Times*, which can never get anything right relating to America, calls Henry Ward Beecher "Mr. Beecher Ward."

The Petroleum Nasby letters to the Cincinnati *Commercial* are written, says that journal, by D. R. Locke of Findlay, Ohio.

Kenneth Raynor is reported as having stated that President Johnson told him that he would not remove the military rule from North Carolina during the official term of the recently elected Governor of that State.

The Lower House of the Missouri Legislature has adopted a resolution declaring Jefferson Davis an unfit subject for executive clemency, and that he should suffer the penalty of the law.

As Senator Doolittle, who takes credit to himself for defeating negro suffrage in Wisconsin, passed Thad. Stevens in the anteroom of the White House a few days ago, he asked, "How are the people of Pennsylvania?" "Opposed to you, sir; opposed to you," replied Stevens, as he passed on.

The Richmond *Whig* expresses the opinion that though there may be some admiration entertained for the "brave Ulysses" in the South, there are yet many rebels base enough at heart to assassinate him, if they could do so without detection. Gen. Grant arrived at Wilmington, N. C., on Thursday, and left the same night for Charleston.

Lady Theresa Lewis, the widow of the late Sir George Cornwall, recently died in England. She was an authoress as well as a leader of fashion, and "The Semi-detached House" was her most admired work. She also edited Miss Berry's Diary. A daughter of Lady Lewis is the wife of Mr. W. Vernon Harcourt, better known as "Historicus."

Advices from Macon state that Robert Toombs, who had been lying concealed in the interior of Georgia for several months, has left his hiding place and embarked in safety at New Orleans in a European vessel. The calling of the roll of the slaves of Mr. Toombs on Bunker Hill has been postponed. Due notice will be given of the performance of the interesting ceremony.

The new U. S. Senators from Alabama are Provisional-Gov. Parsons, who was an old Whig, a lawyer of ability, opposed to secession, but "went with his State;" and George S. Houston, for several years a Democratic member of Congress, of fair talents, strong partisanship, but much personal popularity. Both are about sixty years of age.

The Boston *Advertiser* is responsible for the following:

"Mr. George W. Warren, having no fancy for leading forlorn hopes, has declined the nomination for Mayor tendered him by the various organizations opposed to Mr. Lincoln. It is stated that the "workingmen" have offered the nomination to Gov. Andrew, Wendell Phillips and others, but without success. It is a great pity that Mr. Phillips could not be induced to accept it. It would add a pleasurable excitement, which the canvass now lacks, to see our democratic friends coalescing upon such nomination as that."

Thomas Carlyle has been chosen Rector of Edinburgh University, over Disraeli, and has accepted the office. Mr. Gladstone has been defeated for the Rectorship of the Glasgow University, although the majority of the individual suffrages of the constituency were in his favor—the Chancellor, the Duke of Montrose, having given his casting vote in favor of Mr. Gladstone's opponent. The University votes according to geographical sections, each casting one vote—the majorities in two being for Gladstone.

George W. Julian, of Indiana, was recently attacked and savagely beaten by Col. Solomon Meredith of the same State; the latter a Copperhead and furious against Julian for calling him so. With characteristic "chivalry," quite worthy of Preston Brooks, Meredith took with him a body of friends who prevented all interference till, after having knocked Mr. Julian senseless by an unexpected blow, he had struck him in that condition fifty to a hundred blows with a cowhide. This shocking outrage finds an apologist in the N. Y. *World* and other

the occasion referred to, and this he had on his person at the time of his death, together with letters from Secretary Wells and Gen. Halleck praising him for his devotion to the flag. He was a native of Camden, Maine, and about sixty-three years of age.

The funeral is to take place at three p. m. from the hospital. Admiral Bell, Capt. Pennock and all the officers of the naval station and yard will be present at the funeral to do honor to the gallant dead.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The first part of the message is occupied with a dissertation on the Constitution and State Sovereignty, which we omit. All that properly concerns the question of Reconstruction is as follows:

I found the States suffering from the effects of a civil war. Resistance to the General Government appeared to have exhausted itself. The United States had recovered possession of their forts and arsenals; and their armies were in the occupation of every State which had attempted to secede. Whether the territory within the limits of those States should be held as conquered territory, under military authority emanating from the President as the head of the army, was the first question that presented itself for decision.

Now, military governments, established for an indefinite period, would have offered no security for the early suppression of discontent; would have divided the people into the vanquishers and the vanquished; and would have envenomed hatred, rather than have restored affection. Once established, no precise limit to their continuance was conceivable. They would have occasioned an incalculable and exhaustive expense. Peaceful emigration to and from that portion of the country is one of the best means that can be thought of for the restoration of harmony; and that emigration would have been prevented; for what emigrant from abroad, what industrious citizen at home, would place himself willingly under military rule? The chief persons who would have followed in the train of the army would have been dependents on the General Government, or men who expected profit from the miseries of their erring fellow-citizens. The powers of patronage and rule which would have been exercised, under the President, over a vast, and populous, and naturally wealthy region, are greater than, unless under extreme necessity, I should be willing to intrust to any one man; they are such as, for myself, I could never, unless on occasions of great emergency, consent to exercise. The wilful use of such powers, if continued through a period of years, would have endangered the purity of the general administration and the liberties of the States which remained loyal.

Besides, the policy of military rule over a conquered territory would have implied that the States whose inhabitants may have taken part in the Rebellion had, by the act of those inhabitants, ceased to exist. But the true theory is, that all pretended acts of secession were, from the beginning, null and void. The States cannot commit treason, nor screen the individual citizens who may have committed treason, any more than they can make valid treaties or engage in lawful commerce with any foreign Power. The States attempting to secede placed themselves in a condition where their vitality was impaired, but not extinguished—their functions suspended, but not destroyed.

But if any State neglects or refuses to perform its offices there is the more need that the General Government should maintain all its authority, and, as soon as practicable, resume the exercise of all its functions. On this principle I have acted, and have gradually and quietly, and by almost imperceptible steps, sought to restore the rightful energy of the General Government and of the States. To that end, Provisional Governors have been appointed for the States, Conventions called, Governors elected, Legislatures assembled, and Senators and Representatives chosen to the Congress of the United States. At the same time, the Courts of the United States, as far as could be done, have been reopened, so that the laws of the United States may be enforced through their agency. The blockade has been removed and the Custom-Houses reestablished in ports of entry, so that the revenue of the United States may be collected. The Post-Office Department renews its ceaseless activity, and the General Government is thereby enabled to communicate promptly with its officers and agents. The courts bring security to persons and property; the opening of the ports invites the restoration of industry and commerce; the post-office renews the facilities of social intercourse and of business. And is it not happy for us all, that the restoration of each one of these functions of the General Government brings with it a blessing to the States over which they are extended? Is it not a sure promise of harmony and renewed attachment to the Union that, after all that has happened, the return of the General Government is known only as a beneficence?

I know very well that this policy is attended with some risk; that for its success it requires at least the acquiescence of the State which it concerns; that it implies an invitation to those States, by renewing their allegiance to the United States, to resume their functions as States of the Union. But it is a risk that must be taken; in the choice of difficulties, it is the smallest risk; and to diminish, and, if possible, to remove all danger, I have felt it incumbent on me to assert one other power of the General Government—the power of pardon. As no State can throw a defence over the crime of treason, the power of pardon is exclusively vested in the Executive Government of the United States. In exercising that power, I have taken every precaution to connect it with the clearest recognition of the binding force of the laws of the United States, an unqualified acknowledgment of the great social change of condition in regard to Slavery which has grown out of the war.

The next step which I have taken to restore the Constitutional relation of the States, has been an invitation to them to participate in the high office of amending the Constitution. Every patriot must wish for a general amnesty at the earliest epoch consistent with public safety. For this great end there is need of a concurrence of all opinions, and the spirit of mutual conciliation. All parties in the late terrible conflict must work together in harmony. It is not too much to ask, in the name of the whole people, that, on the one side, the plan of restoration shall proceed in conformity with a willingness to cast the disorders of the past into oblivion; and that, on the other, the evidence of sincerity in the future maintenance of the Union shall be put beyond any doubt by the ratification of the proposed amendment to the Constitution, which provides for the abolition of Slavery forever within the limits of our country. So long as the adoption of this amendment is delayed, so long will doubt and jealousy and uncertainty prevail. This is the measure which will efface the sad memory of the past; this is the measure which will most certainly call population, and capital, and security to those parts of the Union that need them most. Indeed, it is not too much to ask of the States which are now resuming their places in the family of the Union to give this pledge of perpetual loyalty and peace. Until it is done, the past, however much we may desire it, will not be forgotten. The adoption of the amendment reunites us beyond all power of disruption. It heals the wound that is still imperfectly closed; it removes Slavery, the element which has so long perplexed and divided the country; it makes of us once more a united people, renewed and strengthened, bound more than ever to mutual affection and support.

The amendment to the Constitution being adopted, it would remain for the States, whose powers have been so long in abeyance, to resume their places in the two branches of the National Legislature, and thereby complete the work of restoration. Here it is for you, fellow-citizens of the Senate, and for you, fellow-citizens of the House of Representatives, to judge each of you for yourselves, of the elections, returns, and qualifications of your own members.

The full assertion of the powers of the General Government requires the holding of Circuit Courts of the United States within the districts where their authority has been interrupted. In the present posture of our public affairs, strong objections have been urged to holding these courts in any of the States where the rebellion has existed; and it was ascertained, by inquiry, that the Circuit Court of the United States would not be held within the District of Virginia during the autumn or early winter, nor until Congress should have "an opportunity to consider and act on the whole subject." To your deliberations the restoration of this branch of the civil authority of the United States is therefore necessarily referred, with the hope that early provision will be made for the resumption of all its functions. It is manifest that treason, most flagrant in character, has been committed. Persons who are charged with its commission should have fair and impartial trials in the highest civil tribunals of the country, in order that the Constitution and the laws may be fully vindicated; the truth clearly established and affirmed that treason is a crime, that traitors should be punished and the offence made infamous; and, at the same time, that the question may be judicially settled, finally and forever, that no State of its own will has the right to renounce its place in the Union.

The relations of the General Government toward the four millions of inhabitants whom the war has called into freedom, have engaged my serious consideration. On the propriety of attempting to make the freedmen electors by the proclamation of the Executive, I took counsel with the Constitution itself, the interpretations of that instrument by its authors and their cotemporaries, and recent legislation by Congress. When, at the first movement toward independence, the Congress of the United States instructed the several States to institute governments of their own, they left each State to decide for itself the conditions for the enjoyment of the elective franchise. During the period of the Confederacy, there continued to exist a very great diversity in the qualifications of electors in the several States; and even within a State a distinction of qualifications prevailed with regard to the officers who were to be chosen. The Constitution of the United States recognizes these diversities when it enjoins that, in the choice of Members of the House of Representatives of the United States, "the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." After the formation of the Constitution, it remained, as before, the uniform usage for each State to enlarge the body of its electors according to its own judgment; and, under this system, one State after another has proceeded to increase the number of its electors, until now universal suffrage, or something very near it, is the general rule. So fixed was this reservation of power in the habits of the people, and so unquestioned has been the interpretation of the Constitution, that during the civil war the late President never harbored the purpose—certainly never avowed the purpose—of disregarding it; and in the acts of Congress, during that period, nothing can be found which, during the continuance of hostilities, much less after their close, would have sanctioned any departure by the Executive from a policy which has so uniformly obtained. Moreover, a concession of the elective franchise to the freedmen, by act of the President of the United States, must have been extended to all colored men, wherever found, and so must have established a change of suffrage in the Northern, Middle and Western States, not less than in the Southern and South-western. Such an act would have created a new class of voters, and would have been an assumption of power by the President which nothing in the Constitution or laws of the United States would have warranted.

On the other hand, every danger of conflict is avoided when the settlement of the question is referred to the several States. They can, each for itself, decide on the measure, and whether it is to be adopted at once and absolutely, or introduced gradually and with conditions. In my judgment, the freedmen, if they show patience and manly virtues, will sooner obtain a participation in the elective franchise through the States than through the General Government, even if it had power to intervene. When the tumult of emotions that has been raised by the suddenness of the social change shall have subsided, it may prove that they will receive the kindliest usage from some of those on whom they have heretofore most closely depended.

But while I have no doubt that now, after the close of the war, it is not competent for the General Government to extend the elective franchise in the several States, it is equally clear that good faith requires the security of the freedmen in their liberty and their property, their right to labor, and their right to claim the just return of their labor. I cannot too strongly urge a dispassionate treatment of this subject, which should be carefully kept aloof from all party strife. We must equally avoid hasty assumptions of any natural impossibility for the two races to live side by side, in a state of mutual benefit and good will. The experiment involves us in no inconsistency; let us, then go and make that experiment in good faith, and not be too easily disheartened. The country is in need of labor, and the freedmen are in need of employment, culture, and protection. While their right of voluntary migration and expatriation is not to be questioned, I would not advise their forced removal and colonization. Let us rather encourage them to honorable and useful industry, where it may be beneficial to themselves and to the country; and, instead of hasty anticipation of the certainty of failure, let there be nothing wanting to the fair trial of the experiment. The change in their condition is the substitution of labor by contract for the status of Slavery. The freedman cannot fairly be accused of unwillingness to work, so long as a doubt remains about his freedom of choice in his pursuits, and the certainty of his recovering his stipulated wages. In this the interests of the employer and the employed coincide. The employer desires in his workmen spirit and alacrity, and these can be permanently secured in no other way. And if one ought to be able to enforce the conntract, so ought the other. The public interest will be best promoted if the several States will provide adequate protection and remedies for the freedmen. Until this is in some way accomplished, there is no chance for the advantageous use of their labor; and the blame of ill-success will not rest on them.

I know that sincere philanthropy is earnest for the immediate realization of its remotest aims; but time is always an element in reform. It is one of the greatest acts on record to have brought four millions of people into freedom. The career of free industry must be fairly opened to them; and then their future prosperity and condition must, after all, rest mainly on themselves. If they fail, and so perish away, let us be careful that the failure shall not be attributable to any denial of justice. In all that relates to the destiny of the freedmen, we need not be too anxious to read the future; many incidents which, from a speculative point of view, might raise alarm, will quietly settle themselves.

THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

First Session, Monday, December 4.

Senate met at 12. After some routine business, Mr. Wade presented a bill to regulate the elective franchise in the District of Columbia.

The bill provides that from and after its passage every male citizen of 21 years of age, who is a citizen of the United States, a resident of the district for six months, and never convicted of any infamous crime, shall have the right of suffrage in the district.

Section 2 imposes a penalty for interruption or interference with the right granted above.

The bill was ordered to be printed.

THE FORMATION OF JURIES.

Mr. Sumner (Rep., Mass.) introduced a bill to preserve the right of trial by jury, which provides that Grand Juries shall consist of one-half of persons of African descent in sections where one-sixth of the population are Africans, and the same proportion in Petit Juries where the matter relates to any injuries inflicted by a person of African descent, upon a person not of such descent, or *vice versa*; and prejudice against such African race is made a ground of challenge and exclusion from such juries.

The bill was ordered to be printed.

A NEW TEST OATH.

Mr. Sumner introduced a bill prescribing an oath to maintain a Republican form of government in the States in rebellion, as follows:

"I do hereby swear that I will at all times hereafter use my best endeavors to maintain a Republican form of government in the State of which I am an inhabitant and in the Union of the United States; that I will at all times recognize the indissoluble unity of the Republic, and will always discountenance and resist any endeavors to break away or secede from the Union; that I will give my influence and vote at all times to sustain the national credit; that I will always discountenance and resist any attempt, directly or indirectly, to repudiate or postpone, either in any part or in any way, the debt which was contracted by the United States in subduing the rebellion, or the obligations assumed to the Union soldiers; will always discountenance and resist any laws making any distinctions of color or race, and in all ways will strive to maintain a State government completely loyal to the Union, where all men shall enjoy equal protection and equal rights."

Such oath shall be preserved, and if falsely taken such person shall be guilty of perjury, and in addition to the present penalty for that crime, he shall forfeit his right to hold office.

This was ordered to be printed.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Mr. Sumner offered a bill to enforce the Constitutional Amendment by punishing any attempt to control the services of any person contrary to this provision, by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding ten years, or both, at the direction of the court; and it shall be no defence that such claim is sanctioned by any State law.

It annuls State laws in conflict with it, and restricts jurisdiction in cases growing out of it to the United States courts.

This was ordered to be printed.

SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT—ANOTHER BILL.

Mr. Sumner introduced a bill to give the right of suffrage to persons of color in the District of Columbia, which was ordered to be printed.

Mr. Sumner introduced a joint resolution proposing to amend the Constitution, so as to make voters instead of population the basis of representation in Congress.

Mr. Sumner introduced a concurrent resolution declaratory of the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery.

Mr. Sumner introduced a series of resolutions declaratory of the duty of Congress, especially in respect to the loyal citizens of the States lately in rebellion.

A BILL BY MR. SUMNER.

Mr. Sumner introduced the following:

Resolved, That in order to provide proper guarantees for security in the future so that peace and prosperity shall surely prevail, and the plighted faith of the nation shall be preserved, it is the full duty of Congress to take care that no State declared to be in rebellion shall be allowed to resume its relation to the Union until after the satisfactory performance of five several conditions, which conditions precedent must be submitted to a popular vote and be sanctioned by a majority of the people of each State respectively, as follows:

The complete re-establishment of loyalty, as shown by an honest recognition of the unity of the Republic and the duty of allegiance to it at all times, without mental reservation or equivocation of any kind.

The complete suppression of all oligarchical pretensions and the complete enfranchisement of all citizens, so that there shall be no denial of rights on account of color or race, but justice shall be impartial, and all shall be equal before the law.

The rejection of the rebel debt, and at the same time the adoption in just proportion of the national debt, and the national obligations to Union soldiers, with solemn pledges never to join in any measure, direct or indirect, for their repudiation, or in any way tending to impair the national credit.

The organization of an educational system for the equal benefit of all, without distinction of color or race.

The choice of citizens for office, whether state or national, of constant and undoubted loyalty, whose conduct and conversation shall give assurance of peace and reconciliation.

Resolved, That in order to provide these essential safeguards, without which the national security and the national faith will be imperilled, States cannot be precipitated back to political power and independence, but they must wait until these conditions are in all respects fulfilled.

Mr. Wilson (Rep., Mass.), introduced a bill to maintain the freedom of the inhabitants of the States declared to be in insurrection, which was ordered to be printed.

House.—Mr. McPherson, clerk of the late House, called the members to order at noon, and read the roll, from which all rebel members were excluded. Mr. Maynard of Tennessee made an ineffectual attempt to get a recognition, after which and after some miscellaneous debate, the House chose Schuyler Colfax of Indiana Speaker, by vote of 139 to 35 for James Brooks of New York. Mr. Colfax delivered an address. Mr. McPherson of Penn. was re-chosen clerk; N. G. Ordway, Sergeant-at-arms; Ira Goodenow Doorkeeper; Josiah Given, Post-Master.

On motion of Thaddeus Stevens of Penn. the following resolution (previously adopted unanimously in Republican caucus) was passed by 139 to 36.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives assembled, That a joint committee of fifteen shall be appointed, nine of whom shall be members of the House and six of the Senate, who shall inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they or any of them are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress, with leave to report at any time by bill or otherwise, and until such report shall have been made and finally acted upon by Congress, no member shall be received in either House from any of the said so-called Confederate States, and all papers relating to the representatives of the said States shall be referred to said committee without debate.

SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT.

Mr. Kelley (Rep., Pa.) gave notice of his intention to introduce the following bill to extend the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia:

Be it enacted, etc., That from all laws and parts of laws prescribing the qualifications of electors for any office in the District of Columbia, the word "white" be, and the same is hereby stricken out; and that from and after the passage of this act, no person shall be disqualified from voting at any election held in the said District on account of color.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted that all acts of Congress and all laws of the State of Maryland in force in said district, and all ordinances of the Cities of Washington and Georgetown, inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

ELMIRA WATER-CURE IN OCTOBER, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Sir,—One may question whether invalidism is a calamity, when it puts you in such an entirely delightful place for restoration as this Cure. The admirable combination of medical skill in Dr. and Mrs. Gleason is thoroughly seconded by all the sweet influences of a lovely surrounding of nature's best harmonies. Other water-cure resorts may be more palatial in architecture; but none

"Has royal pleasure-grounds outspread"

quite equal to these. If the roof is low, as is your state, what matters it, for here is the friendly blue sky, lofty enough for your canopy.

"And who but He that arched the skies,
And pours the day-spring's living flood,"

could have made the scene that lies before you, a magnificent picture, framed in your plain window-seat? There is no lack of gilding outside, when the golden sunset-light gleams from these reaches of water in the valley below. Canal, and creek, and river, and crystal lake are so disposed amid the meadow lands of the Chemung as to animate the view up to a poet's dream. Vast masses of forest, now gorgeous with October dyes, clothe the opposite mountainous heights, their topmost trees penciled against the sky all along the horizon, that sweeps for miles in a grand undulating circuit. The whole village of Elmira is seen, at just the right angle and distance to blend its houses and churches of red, white and brown with the yellow and scarlet maples into a compact rich mosaic, set among the hills and green fields. What words can tell all the enchantment that broods with varying beauty over this peaceful valley prospect for one day!

"Mysteries of color daily laid
By the great Sun in light and shade."

Sick or well, here psalms of thanksgiving will be in your heart, if not on your lips, for the mercy and goodness that follow us all the days of our lives.

Pleasant retired paths attract you to the Glen that stretches up through wooded ravines behind the Cure. Tall, old pines tower "proudly eminent" in their evergreens, among "the garnet hue of the young oaks," that began their growth with the date of the establishment, thirteen years ago. Mrs. Gleason urges her patients to walk out of doors—if not strong enough to *walk*, then sit out of doors—if not able to *sit*, then lie out of doors, especially these warm, deliciously-aired, health-giving autumn days. Dr. and Mrs. Gleason are full believers in sun-cure. Mrs. G. tells a story of two young German sisters coming to live in Buffalo. One left the sea miserable, thin, pale and sick, the other rosy and stout. She took to factory, or some close, confining, in-door work, while the feeble girl was only able to sit at the street corner and sell apples from a fruit stall. The out-door air wrought slowly, day by day, its good effects, till the wan cheeks bloomed. But the other's had faded. She, too, was compelled to the humble open-air employment, and found the same unsought-for restoration. Such is the power of that simple remedy—"Life in the Open Air." Mrs. Gleason gives very sensible lectures to the ladies, which, for plain, practical value, remind you of Florence Nightingale's invaluable Notes on Nursing. No one can pass a season or a month here without being enriched with these common-sense views of healthful ways of living, as to diet, dress, sleep, rest and exercise in due proportion; and hundreds learn here the best lessons of hygiene. I wish everybody could hear, as we did last week, Dr. Gleason lecture on the Relations of Health and Physical Enjoyment, in which he aptly quoted that "a man's skin covers all his possessions."

The house is overflowing with patients and guests—all kept by the magnetic spirit of Mrs. Gleason and the Doctor in good and kindly humor. Mr. Fitz Hugh Ludlow only declared the truth when he said, "The very air of the place is heavenly." Sunday evening, this gentleman gave us an hour's happiness to be remembered forever—a fine discourse on the "Blessedness of Things," or the divine uses of seeming evil. He touched with delicate thought the high mysteries of being, with masterly power of expression; he swept the chords of pathos and of victory, till you were filled with solemn ecstasy as of listening to Beethoven's symphonies. His illustrations were exquisitely suggestive. Our apprenticeship in life may perplex us with coarse, homely details, like that of a young clerk who toils years in ignorance among boxes and bales of some great warehouse of foreign merchandise. One day, as he is approaching his majority, the seniors of the firm take him into their carpeted room, remote from the moil in which he has so long lived, and reveal to him the meaning of the cabalistic signs on the outside of the rough boxes, that tell the quality of the stores within—how this G within the diamond mark, means rich silks from China—that other figure denotes lacker-ware from Japan—this letter again betokens a box of curious samples—that mark of teas—and so on, till a new world opens to his fancy, and engages his henceforth unflagging interest in the hard, unpromising outward features of his business. So are we heirs of eternity—co-partners in all heavenly fellowship, to be led through balking care and pain and disappointment, by the rough ways and buffetings of human experience to the summits of glorious revelation, showing our destiny beyond our hope. Not alone through the passes of the mighty Rocky Mountains and across the Great Plains of Nebraska and Colorado and the desert of Utah has this poet-souled traveller penetrated, but into realms and Meccas of the mind, bringing back reports which captivate belief.

We heard Rev. T. K. Beecher, in an uncompromising sermon to his Sunday-school, tell them that he did not believe with President Johnson "this was a white man's country." It was the black as much as the white man's country. It belonged to all the children of God; and he was going to be like God, love black people just as much as he did white people. That very morning he looked over the town (his cottage is close up here by the Cure), and saw God's sun rising and shining upon the houses and gardens of black as fully and warmly as on those of white people.

Two Sundays ago Mr. Charles Beecher gave here, in his brother's church, such a sermon as makes one grateful and happy all his life after to have heard. True to the Beecher family fame, he preached of Temperance from the text, "I beseech you by the mercies of God that you present your bodies, a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." It was a sermon so full of the spirit of godly living—so pure-hearted and ennobling, that I wondered what sort of "*ng paiety*," as Theodore Parker called it, those Congregational ministers have, to shut him out of their great Council in Boston last June.

Sallie Holley.

Secession of the Colored Element from a Virginia Church—An Amusing Case.—At the recent session of the Methodist Conference in this city, says a Richmond Dispatch to the *Tribune*, Bishop Simpson sent a colored preacher, the Rev. Mr. Lawson, to Staunton, Va., to preach to the blacks there. He preached one-half day in the Methodist Church Vestry to a black audience. The next day the white clergymen of Staunton met, and voted that thereafter no colored man should preach in that place, but that once in four weeks one of their number should preach exclusively to the blacks. The black members of the Methodist Church, 300 in number, and paying nearly all the parish expenses, thereupon seceded, leaving that church to its 18 white members, and organized a flourishing church of their own in the spacious room of a carriage manufactory. The Baptist clergymen, seeing the ruin of the Methodist Church, and conscious of the inability of his own white flock to sustain him, immediately sent an offer of his vestry to a colored Baptist clergyman. The offer was accepted, and ever since that day the two most flourishing churches in Staunton are the Black Methodist and the White-and-black Baptist.

SOUTHERN CORRESPONDENCE.

Fernandina, Florida, Nov. 20, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Sir,—"Give us facts rather than words," said an editor to his correspondent. Facts are common enough in this region to keep one in mind of the lecture of Wendell Phillips on "the South Victorious." On my passage here I had a talk with Rev. Dr. Tucker, a some what noted divine of Georgia, who was frank enough to declare that the doctrine of "State rights" is as firmly held by the Southerners now as before the war. Of his large acquaintance, he said he knew of but one person of any intelligence in the South who had any doubt as to it. He pronounced State Conventions that pretended to disclaim it, bodies of sycophantic hypocrites. I think he spoke truly. I have seen the Southerners under various circumstances, and am satisfied that they regard themselves as martyrs to a great and sacred principle of "State rights." They are defeated, but not converted; overpowered but not without hope. They are as strong in the faith of State rights, and as weak in the faith of man's rights, as heretofore. "Scrape off the surface of a Russian, and you will find a Tartar beneath"—says a European proverb. The pretended Unionism of the Southerners is but skin deep, you will find the rebel beneath. They are still looking backward, hoping for the resurrection of a dead barbarism, whose malign influences have generated a reckless disregard of moral and political obligations. I hope this State will continue to be under the restraints of military law, until the people learn something of true Democracy, and until there is a large influx of Northern men with Northern sentiment.

This city of Northern Florida is one of unusual natural advantages, growing up very suddenly before the war. Having a harbor accessible at all stages of tide for the largest vessels (which can be said of but few on the coast,) with a railroad, now being put in order, to Cedar Keys, making the nearest and best land and water route from New York to Mobile and New Orleans, saving about 1,000 miles of water travel—it must soon become a point of commercial importance. It presents great inducements for business, and a more healthy and desirable location cannot be found on the coast.

But much of the property of the city is in a *muddle*, and the contemptible trickery that has been practiced here by Government officials would disgrace the Peter Funks of New York. Somebody, I think proposed to paint some transactions in true color, but feared it would exhaust the Quartermasters supply of lamp-black. The property was sold over two years ago under the act of Congress for the collection of direct taxes in insurrectionary districts. But one of the three Commissioners, failing to reach here in season for the sale, and having some private purposes to carry, attempted to have the sale set aside. By coaxing, intimidation, and lying, purchasers were induced to give up their certification, and there was a re-sale of the same property last winter. I cannot learn that there was any authority for the second sale, and the first has been declared legal, fair, and valid by the Government. But the surrender of the certificate operated by way of estoppel to their claims; and another mischief is, that the time allowed by law for redemption is *dated* from the *last sale* illegally, and I believe giving scores of the returned rebels opportunity to present their claims by taking oaths which would choke an alligator, if he had any moral sense. Thereby many an honest loyal white and colored family will be turned from under roofs that they bought in good faith from the Government over two years ago. I am fearful that the mansion purchased and used for an asylum for orphan colored children will be thus lost. Some, however, white and colored, refused to give up their certificate; and all titles held under, by virtue of these will be respected, I have no doubt. I think more colored persons than white in proportion to the purchases, refused to surrender their first claim. Still most of the property will remain in the hands of Northern men. Rebel ex-Generals and Colonels, however, tell their friends that it is all to be restored to the original owners by their *State Courts*, which are to override the United States Government, after that happy period of reconstruction when the Union shall be "as it was."

Liberty Billings.

MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

WHAT ONE OF THE RECONSTRUCTED HAS TO SAY.

Executive Office, Jackson, Miss., November 20, 1865.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: By the sudden emancipation of over three hundred thousand slaves, Mississippi has imposed upon her a problem of vast magnitude, upon the proper solution of which depends the hopes and future prosperity and welfare of ourselves and of our children.

Under the pressure of Federal bayonets, urged on by the misdirected sympathies of the world in behalf of the enslaved African, the people of Mississippi have abolished the institution of slavery, and have solemnly declared in their State Constitution that "the Legislature should provide by law for the protection and security of person and property of the freedmen of the State, and guard them and the State against any evils that may arise from their sudden emancipation." How this important provision and requirement of the Constitution is to be carried into effect is the question presented for our solution. We must now meet the question as it is, and not as we would like to have it. The rule must be justice. The negro is free, whether we like it or not; we must realize that fact now and forever. *To be free, however, does not make him a citizen, or entitle him to social or political equality with the white man.* But the Constitution and justice do entitle him to protection and security in his person and property, both real and personal.

In my humble judgment no person, bond or free, under any form of government, can be assured of protection or security in either person or property, except through an independent and enlightened judiciary. The courts, then, should be open to the negro. But of what avail is it to open the courts, and invite the negro to "sue and be sued," if he is not permitted to testify himself, and introduce such testimony as he or his attorney may deem essential to establish the truth and justice of his case? Whether the witness be white or black, it is the denial of the most common privilege of freedom, an unmeaning delusion, the merest mockery.

A measure of domestic policy, whether for the protection of the person or the property of the freedman, or for the protection of society, the negro should be allowed and required to testify for or against the white and black according to the truth. There are few men living in the South who have not known many white criminals to go "unwhipped of justice," because negro testimony was not permitted in the courts. And now that the negro is no longer under the restraints and protection of his master, he will become the dupe and the "cat's-paw" of the vile and the vicious white man who seeks his association, and will plunder our lands with entire security from punishment, unless he can be reached through negro testimony. It is an insult to the intelligence and virtue of our courts, and juries of white men, to say or suspect that they can not or will not protect the innocent, whether white or black, against the falsehood and perjury of black witnesses.

The question of admitting negro testimony for the protection of their person and property sinks into insignificance by the side of the other great question of *guarding them and the State* against the evils that may arise from their sudden emancipation. What are the evils that have already arisen, against which we are to guard the negro and the State? The answer is patent to all—vagrancy and pauperism, and their inevitable concomitant, crime and misery, hang like a dark pall over a once prosperous and happy, but now desolated land.

To the guardian care of the Freedmen's Bureau has been intrusted the emancipated slaves. The civil law, and the white man outside of the Bureau, have been deprived of all jurisdiction over them. Look around you and see the result. Idleness and vagrancy have been the result. Our rich and productive fields have been deserted, for the filthy garrets and sickly cellars of our towns and cities. From producers they are converted into consumers, and as winter approaches, their only salvation from starvation and want is Federal rations, plunder and pillage. *Four years of cruel war, conducted on principles of vandalism disgraceful to the civilization of the age, were scarcely more blighting and destructive to the homes of the white man, and impoverishing and degrading to the negro, than has resulted in the last six or eight months from the administration of this black incubus.* Many of the officers connected with that Bureau are gentlemen of honor and integrity, *but they seem incapable of protecting the rights and property of the white man against the villanies of the vile and villanous with whom they are associated.*

How long this *hideous curse*, permitted of Heaven, is to be allowed to rule and ruin our unhappy people, I regret it is not in my power to give any assurance, further than can be gathered from the public and private declarations of President Johnson, that "the troops will all be withdrawn from Mississippi, when in the opinion of the Government the peace and order and civil authority has been restored, and can be maintained without them." In this uncertainty as to what will satisfy the Government of our loyalty and ability to maintain order and peace and civil government, our duty under the Constitution to guard the negro and the State from the evils arising from sudden emancipation must not be neglected. Our duty to the State, and to the freedmen, seems to me to me to be clear, and I respectfully recommend, 1st, That negro testimony should be admitted in our courts, not only for the protection of the person and property of the freedmen, but for the protection of society against the crimes of both races. 2d. That the freedman be encouraged at once to engage in some pursuit of industry for the support of his family, and the education of his children, by laws assuring him of friendship and protection. Tax the freedman for the support of the indigent and helpless freedmen, and *then with an iron will and the strong hand of power take hold of the idler and the vagrant and force him to some profitable employment.* 3d. Pass a militia law that will enable the militia to protect our people against the insurrection, or any possible combination, of vicious white men and negroes.

I deem the passage of these measures, before you take a recess, of vital importance. By them we may secure the withdrawal of the Federal troops, and thus again inspire our people with hope and confidence in the future, and encourage them to engage again in agricultural pursuits upon which our all depends. If we fail to pass them the future is all uncertainty, gloom, and despondency.

Benj. G. Humphreys,
Governor of Mississippi.

CONVENTION OF COLORED CITIZENS IN BOSTON.

A Convention of the colored people of New England was held in the Twelfth Baptist Church, on Southac street, Friday, Dec. 1, for the purpose of taking action on matters concerning the colored man and his status in the United States.

The Convention was called too rder by Mr. George L. Ruffin. Rev. L. A. Grimes was chosen temporary chairman, and George L. Ruffin temporary secretary.

On motion of William Wells Brown, a committee of three on a permanent organization was apointed.

Rev. Mr. Grimes here suggested that it would be proper to invoke the Divine blessing before proceeding further, and Rev. Peter Ross was called upon to offer prayer.

After a brief discussion, a motion was adopted empowering all friends of the cause present residing in New England to act as members of the convention.

In the absence of other business, Mr. Frederick Douglass was invited to address the convention. He expressed his gratification on account of the assembling of this body, and his pleasure in being able to be present. The work before them, he said, was one of great importance, and it was highly necessary that a delegation of colored citizens should be sent to Washington. He thought the war had ended too soon for the safety of the nation or of the colored man, and that much of the spirit of rebellion yet remained. Pence for the Southern white white man now meant war against the negro. He was glad to know that the rights of colored citizens were to be presented to the attention of Congress, in which body he expressed confidence.

The Committee on permanent Organization made the following report, which was adopted:

President—Charles L. Remond, of Salem.

Vice-Presidents—George F. Downing, of Rhode Island; E. P. Talbot, of Maine; Rev. Peter Ross, of Connecticut; and William W. Brown, of Cambridge.

Secretaries—George L. Ruffin, of Boston; S. S. Murray of Portland, Me.; A. T. Jourdain, Jr., of New Bedford, Mass.; Amos W. Green, of Rhode Island; and Peter Mott, of Connecticut.

The chairman, on assuming the office, thanked the convention for the honor they had conferred upon him, and trusted he should live long enough to see the "fruits of this convention represented by a member of Congress from the colored people."

The following committees were then appointed:

Business Committee—Messrs. Geo. T. Downing, James L. Sherman, W. G. Hudson, Rev. Peter Ross, R. G. Walker.

Finance Committee—Messrs. Wm. Steamburg, Wm. Talbot and Rev. Mr. Kay.

The convention then adjourned till 2½ o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention met according to adjournment. After the reading of the records, Mr. George T. Downing of Newport, R. I., chairman of the Business Committee, reported the following series of resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention that there should be sent to Washington, to remain there during the session of Congress, a colored delegation, to endeavor to influence the legislation of Congress, so that in its action it may not give "color to the idea that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect."

Resolved, That this idea commends itself to white as well as colored men; for, until equality before the law for all Americans without regard to color be the guiding sentiment of the land, there will be kept up an agitation, a conflict as intense, as wide-spread, and as all-absorbing as that which marked the history of the anti-slavery warfare, which will materially affect all the material interests of the land.

Resolved, That with this view we invite substantial assistance from the merchant, the mechanic, the agriculturist; from all interested in the nation's character and prosperity, that these interests may not be much longer clogged by an agitation which will be continued unto the end.

Resolved, That the presence at Washington of a discreet, intelligent and refined delegation of colored men (who would be the representation of a large class) would have great influence in creating due respect for the entire colored people.

Resolved, That the States of Connecticut, Wisconsin and Minnesota, in refusing to allow colored American citizens the right to vote for their rulers, have given practical force to the idea "that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect," their course not being marked by any discrimination as to character or intelligence.

Resolved, That we beseech Congress on this subject, whenever it may act, not to follow this unfair example; for if it shall set an example of disregarding Americans' rights because of their color, it will excuse, to a great degree, the injustice, the outrages being showered upon the heads of the country's unoffending colored citizens in the South, for having fought and saved the nation.

Whereas, in the construction of a government according to the "declaration" of the nation, it should be made subservient to the rights and interests of the people; and whereas, according to the said declaration, "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;" and whereas any construction or reconstruction of a government or State, to be just, must be based on this principle; and whereas, it is a principle of the nation that taxation and representation should go together; and whereas both black and white are taxed in common for the support of the Government; and whereas the Constitution of the nation knows no man under any circumstance by his color; and whereas all distinctions among the Government's loyal subjects, of which it can in a political sense take any cognizance, must be based on law, alias "civil government;" and whereas President Johnson, in his several and in each of his proclamations looking to a reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion, officially declares that "all civil government has ceased to exist thereon;" therefore be it

Resolved, that it is the judgment of this convention that Congress cannot justly recognize any distinction among the loyal citizens of the United States, in any State being reconstructed, that is based on the idea that a class, because white, has the exclusive right to vote therein, or on any idea as to the existence of privileged classes in any such States, in which "all civil government has ceased to exist."

Resolved, That in the many cases which have occured recently of whipping, scourging and murdering the freemen of the South by their late masters, as well as by the cruel and oppressive laws which have been enacted by the provisional legislatures of the Southern States, we see plainly either a design to forcibly drive the negroes from the country, or to provoke such resistance on their part as would excuse a general massacre of them. And we call upon the Congress of the United States, either by general law or through the agency of the Freedmen's Bureau, to throw around the loyal blacks such protection as shall secure them from the hatred of their former owners—a hatred created by the assistance which the blacks have given the loyal cause.

Resolved, That this convention has full faith in the purposes and efforts of Charles Sumner and his coworkers in Congress, and his long and consistent labors both in and out of Congress; and his many sacrifices for down-trodden humanity entitle him to our confidence, love and respect.

The report was accepted, and after a brief discussion the resolution favoring the appointment of a delegation to Washington was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Downing of Rhode Island, Frederick Douglass of New York was admitted as an honorary member of the convention.

On motion of Mr. Hayden of Boston, it was voted that the delegation to Washington consist of one person.

On motion of Mr. Ruffin of Boston, a committee of one person from each New England State was appointed to nominate the delegate.

During the absence of the committee Mr. Frederick Douglass was invited to address the convention. After indorsing the resolutions which had been presented, and urging the importance of selecting the proper person as delegate to Washington, Mr. Douglass spoke of the condition of the colored people of the South, and the great need of legislation to protect them from impending disasters.

At the close of Mr. Douglass' remarks, Rev. L. A. Grimes, chairman of the Nominating Committee, reported the name of Mr. George T. Downing of Rhode Island as delegate to Washington. The report was accepted, and Mr. Downing briefly returned thanks for the honor, and indicated the course which he should pursue in the discharge of his duties.

Rev. B. L. Read and Rev. Robert Caldwell of Kansas were admitted as honorary members of the convention.

Rev. L. A. Grimes, George T. Downing, M. R. De

Miscellaneous Department.

SHERIDAN'S RIDE.

BY T. BUCHANAN READ.

Up from the South at break of day,
Bringing to Winchester fresh dismay,
The affrighted air with a shudder bore,
Like a herald in haste to the chieftain's door,
The terrible grumble and rumble and roar,
Telling the battle was on once more,
And Sheridan twenty miles away!

And wider still those billows of war
Thundered along the horizon's bar,
And louder yet into Winchester rolled
The roar of that red sea uncontrolled,
Making the blood of the listener cold
As he thought of the stake in that fiery fray,
And Sheridan twenty miles away!

But there is a road from Winchester town,
A good broad highway leading down;
And there through the flash of the morning light,
A steed, as black as the steeds of night,
Was seen to pass as with eagle flight—
As if he knew the terrible need
He stretched away with his utmost speed;
Hill rose and fell—but his heart was gay,
With Sheridan fifteen miles away!

Still sprung from those swift hoofs, thundering South,
The dust like the smoke from the cannon's mouth,
Or the trail of a comet, sweeping faster and faster,
Foreboding to traitors the doom of disaster;
The heart of the steed and the heart of the master,
Were beating like prisoners assaulting their walls,
Impatient to be where the battle-field calls;
Every nerve of the charger was strained to full play,
With Sheridan only ten miles away!

Under his spurning feet the road
Like an arrowy Alpine river flowed,
And the landscape sped away behind
Like an ocean flying before the wind;
And the steed, like a barque fed with furnace ire,
Swept on, with his wild eyes full of fire.
But lo! he is nearing his heart's desire—
He is snuffing the smoke of the roaring fray,
With Sheridan only five miles away!

The first that the General saw were the groups
Of stragglers, and then the retreating troops:—
What was done—what to do—a glance told him both,
Then striking his spurs with a terrible oath,
He dashed down the line 'mid a storm of huzzas,
And the wave of retreat checked its course there, because
The sight of the master compelled it to pause.
With foam and with dust the black charger was gray;
By the flash of his eye and his red nostrils' play,
He seemed to the whole great army to say:
"I have brought you Sheridan all the way
From Winchester down to save the day!"

Hurrah, hurrah, for Sheridan!
Hurrah, hurrah, for horse and man!
And when their statues are placed on high,
Under the dome of the Union sky,
The American soldiers' Temple of Fame,
There with the glorious General's name
Be it said in letters both bold and bright:
"Here is the steed that saved the day
By carrying Sheridan into the fight,
From Winchester—twenty miles away!"

PRESENCE OF MIND.

From the Saturday Review.

It is a question we may often ask ourselves, though with little certainly of arriving at the right answer, Have we presence of mind? We mean presence of mind of that practical sort which furnishes so many attractive headings in the spare spaces and lower corners of the newspaper column. Are our faculties likely to be quickened by a desperate emergency, or to be scared by it? Shall we be more or less than ourselves when the occasion arrives? Shall we know the precise thing to do when a blackened ruffian enters our bedroom at two o'clock in the morning? Shall we be able to extemporize a tourniquet on the spot when our clumsy friend shoots off his leg or his arm? Shall we be prepared, when a railway smash comes, to extricate passengers, *remind the guard of his duty*, and warn the coming train; or shall we rather be like him who wriggled himself out of the prostrate carriage, trampling on women and children, his fellow-travellers, to effect his own deliverance? Shall we be the suggester of the opportune ladder which rescues the despairing tenants of the three-pair back from the flames, ourself descending with a child under each arm and a baby between our teeth; or shall we lock the door on help and egress, and get smothered behind it along with all who trusted us? Shall we stand motionless and serene when a swarm of bees settles on our head and face? Could we seize the exact moment to rescue the sinking swimmer, and, acting out all the Humane Society's directions, when everybody else forgets them, restore the drowned wretch to life? Should we have thought of stopping a fatal leak with a leg of fresh pork, as was done the other day? In short, shall we be foremost when a man is wanted? and shall we do all these feats coolly and calmly, seeing our way at least risk to ourself, simply because we are self-possessed, and so can take in every point of the position?

In one's youth, when one is in the habit of building castles, a man can usually settle all these things very much to his satisfaction. Then it is a matter of course that he is one who, if "called to face some awful moment" big with great issue, "is happy as a lover," who,

> If an unexpected call succeed,
> Come when it will, is equal to the need.

Nothing is wanting but the opportunity; whether the need were to arrest the runaway horses of terrified beauty on the very brink of the precipice with the strength of our single arm, to catch up the exploding shell from under the commander-in-chief's horse-hoof, or to escape from a dungeon deeper than that of Chateau d'If by a course of consummate stratagem. But experience has shown most persons the one speciality of an emergency—that of ignoring precedent, and making things look the reverse of all our calculations; and we have learnt, too, that dreaming and reverie are not friends to prompt action, however apt they may be to raise pictures of it. There are few of us who have not known what it is to want an answer, to be dumb when repartee was called for, to be helpless in an ordinary social dilemma. A hundred times we have been in a fix. Shall we do ourselves more credit where life and death are concerned than under these petty ordeals? Thanks to the peaceful order of most lives, and to the freedom from extremities which blesses every-day existence, we may still flatter ourselves that the great occasion, when it comes, will find us equal to it; for as yet we probably have not been tried. In the meanwhile, it is not amiss to consider what are the qualities, and circumstances likely to produce this enviable state of mind and nerves. In the first place, the presence of mind that men admire most is so largely mingled with self-sacrifice that the two are sometimes confounded; while, in fact, self-sacrifice often does more harm than good unless guided by this heroic form of discretion. The poor muslin-clad girl who rushes to the rescue of her blazing sister often only compasses two deaths instead of one, for want of presence of mind. But, not to touch on horrors like these, this quality must in almost every case preside over self-devotion to make it of any real service. We find the scene lately enacted on Goat Island, Niagara, to the point here. Professor Ruggles (we could have wished the gentleman a more euphonious name for the sake of both actors in the story) had politely descended a steep bank to recover a lady's parasol, when he lost his footing and slid to the edge of a frightful precipice, where he caught hold of the roots of a tree. The temporary support trembled and loosened under his weight. It was a question of minutes, or moments. The ladies of the party shrieked for help, but none was at hand. At length one of them bethought her to tear her dress and shawl into shreds, her companions contributing their wraps to the same purpose. She then tied the lengths together, and while the ladies held firm hold of one end they tied a stone to the other and lowered it to the Professor, who, taking hold of it, walked slowly up the bank till he gained secure footing at the top. Then we are further told that the girl who had saved him by her happy thought fainted, and was carried home unconscious. Now what would the sacrifice of the most becoming dress in the world have served but for the presence of mind which led her to tie each knot firm and secure under the crying necessity for haste? A bishop new to his honors had the misfortune to upset the ink over a gorgeous table-cover in his entertainer's state bed-room. It was an impulse sadly wanting in presence of mind which led him to sacrifice the dozen cambric handkerchiefs with which his wife had furnished his portmanteau in a clumsy and fruitless endeavor to repair the mischief.

One essential for this quality, however acquired, we hold to be a sense of responsibility. We must not expect it from people who are habitually kept under and checked in the exercise of their free will. Whatever romances may say, which are apt to bring an oppressed heroine into prominence by some unexpected display of this virtue, anything like a habit of servile, submissive obedience is a disability for an emergency—for taking the command at a moment. If we are bent on the laborer's "knowing his place," and simply obeying orders all the year round, we must not be indignant if he stands staring helplessly in some moment when invention and resource are needed. The man who knows what to do at a pinch must have learnt beforehand to set some value upon his own opinion and his own way of doing things; he must be one who, when a thing is to be done, fancies he is the man to do it. And in no point do people differ more than in this. At a crisis of any sort it is the instinct of some persons to put themselves forward, or to feel that they ought to do so; and of others to wait, expecting their neighbors to act. It is no fault or cowardice; it is simply that they expect others to take the lead. And not only does one mind differ from another in this respect, but people differ from themselves according to circumstances. There is one mental attitude peculiarly opposed to the exercise of presence of mind—that is, when we have, for any purpose whatever, given our thoughts into another's keeping. Whether people listen to a great preacher or orator or actor, if heart and attention are thoroughly absorbed, they are usually incapable for the moment of any great collected effort. Thus all popular gatherings are subject to panic, whether in church or theatre. On the other hand, any feeling of charge or trust tells in favor of presence of mind. The performer will for the most part be more equal to the occasion than the spectator, the speaker than the audience, the master than the scholars. People who are accustomed to accept unpleasant duties—to think that, if there is a disagreeable thing to be done, they must do it under any circumstances—take kindly, and with the preparation of habit, to disagreeable effort on a large and perilous scale; and the mere sense of duty—of having undertaken to go through anything for others, though it be something the most alien possible from the ides of danger—is a discipline that leads to high results. The consciousness in a man that others are depending on him for anything whatever, are looking to him for something he has engaged to give or to do, is often an ennobling stimulus. Last winter a fire broke out at one of the theatres at the close of the pantomime. Our readers may remember how the Clown and Harlequin saved the whole *corps de ballet* by their courage and presence of mind; not taking a step out of danger till they had seen the lightly clad crowd huddled together safe, but shivering, in the sleet and snow of the street, when they joined them in full costume of paint and frippery, not a cloak or coat among them to hide the incongruous show from the concourse outside. Without detracting from their merit, we think it exceedingly likely that, had these heroes been sitting in plain clothes as spectators, neither courage, nor devotion to the helpless, nor presence of mind would have reached so high a mark.

Not only the sense of responsibility, but the mere feeling of being trusted, is a promoter of this virtue. Two persons of equal powers, and both in a position to judge and criticize, hamper one another at a critical moment; neither trusts himself to the same extent, because neither is as implicity trusted by others, as though he stood alone in the gap. A doctor summoned on some alarming conjuncture strikes the panic-stricken lookers-on as an angel of knowledge and resource, and is often even surprised at his own collectedness. If all the assembly were doctors too, he might very likely vacillate where decision was imperative. And herein lies a hope for the more modest self-questioner, that he too might not be found wanting on occasion. There is an inspiration in the demand of the moment. If the occasion points to us, if others look to us, we may after all not only surprize our friends, but even ourselves, by an unfamilar promptitude and vigor. As a rule, sedentary persons, and those occupied in abstract things, are ill-trained for these brilliant displays of control over the present. Just as the charmed spectator or entranced listener is at a disadvantage when the sudden call to action comes, so is the man absorbed in philosophical or scientific speculation, or who devotes his whole time to literature of any class. He has to go through a process of recollection, to alter the focus of his vision, with all the bewilderment inseparable from these processes, before he can enter into a new situation which another has apprehended on the instant. De Quincy, who was the victim through life of *thought*, was on this account incapable of prompt action. Even intellectual presence of mind was so impossible to him that he could not believe in it, and he boldly declares that *every* story of a stinging repartee or collision of ideas, fancifully and brilliantly related, is a lie. As for what is understood by presence of mind, he admits himself to be miserably and shamefully deficient in the quality; the palsy of doubt and distraction hung like a guilty weight upon his energies. But thought enabled him to embrace every circumstance of the coming catastrophe which he could not stir a finger to avert. In some twenty pages of fine characteristic narrative, he describes a drive on the box of a mail-coach, and tells how the coach all but ran over a pony-carriage containing a pair of lovers. Sitting by the side of the sleeping coachman, his quick ear detected, four miles off, the sound of approaching wheels. He knew that the coach was on the wrong side of the road, and that a catastrophe at the next turning was imminent. He calculated to a nicety when this was likely to happen; he realized that all depended upon himself; but nobody is so helpless as the man who theorizes upon action at the wrong time. On sight of the lovers—when time revealed their tiny equipage and their utter unconsciousness, wrapt up in each other, of the impending death—he calculated that one minute and a half only intervened between them and a horrible fate; but he did nothing. "Oh, heavens!" he cries, "what is it that I shall do?" He had renounced all thought of bodily action; there was a reason against every suggestion that occurred to him; but happily it flashed across his mind that on one supreme occasion Achilles shouted. The notion was received favorably. True, he could not hope to shout like the son of Peleus, aided by Pallas; but neither was such a shout needed, as it was not necessary to rouse all Asia militant, but only a young man and woman in a gig, and they only too near at hand. At last, then, having weighed all pros and cons, he shouted; the young man heard not. Again he shouted, and the young man raised his head. Thus, having done his part, the narrator gave himself up to undisturbed speculation on the character of the lover, and how the occasion would tell upon him. "If," thought he, "this stranger is a brave man, he will do so and so, and die as a brave man should; if he makes no effort, shrinking from his duty, he will not less certainly perish; and why not? Wherefore should we grieve that there is one craven less in the world? But craven he was not. Seventy seconds remained after he saw danger. These are nicely divided into periods. For seven seconds he took in the situation, for five he mused on some great purpose, for five more he lifted up his eyes in prayer; then he rose, and by a powerful strain on the horse, slewed it round, brought the carriage at right angles with the coach—still in as great peril as ever, but fifteen seconds yet remained. "Hurry, hurry! then, for the flying minutes they hurry!" One more violent effort, and, with a hurricane rush and loud collision, the coach passed on. And now our analytical friend at length found his legs, rose in horror to see the mischief done, and retained an image for life of the little cany carriage all trembling and shivering from the shock; the young man sitting firm as a rock in the steadiness of agitation, frozen into rest by horrors; and the lady!—and here follows a very powerful description of what he calls the vision of sudden death seen in all its terrors in the instant of escaping from it. The whole story is significant, at once sketching the temper to which presence of mind is natural, and portraying with still greater power the condition of thought and intellect in which it is simply impossible.

Liebig on Colleges.—Liebig, the distinguished German Professor, has written to the Secretary of the Ohio Agricultural Society a very interesting letter in reference to the Agricultural Colleges which are to be established by the proceeds of the lands granted by Government, and adds some sensible remarks concerning colleges in general. He says: "In America you spend too much money in putting up your educational buildings, and then starve your professors. I learn that you put up a very grand building in your City of Columbus, called the Starling Medical College; I have a picture of it. I am told it cost some $70,000 or $75,000, and now you are starving the professors in it. You did the same in Cleveland and Cincinnati. Then I am told you built two universities in Ohio, and now the professors can hardly live on the salary you pay. The consequence is that these schools, colleges, or universities must run down. There is no place in the whole world where knowledge can make so much money as in America; therefore your best men will not become teachers or professors, simply because they can make more money out of something else, and they naturally apply their talent and ability where it pays the best. No man will engage in an educational course of life, for life, on a salary of $1,200 or $1,500 a year, when he, by applying the ability in some other pursuit, can make $4,000 or $5,000 a year. Hence, you have no first-class professors in all America; but you have instead first-class business men, first-class mechanics, and managers of large and colossal establishments."

LORD PALMERSTON AND THE PRESS.

Amongst the characteristics of the late Premier none were more remarkable than the versatility and elasticity of mind which not only kept him abreast of his age, but enabled him to enter into the feelings of men of widely dissimilar ranks and callings in life, to appreciate their views, and to take an interest in their pursuits. No old man was ever so little of a *laudator temporis acti*. The pages both of the peerage and of history bore testimony to his ripe age; but no one would ever have gathered from his speeches that he had taken part in public affairs before most of those amongst whom he stood were born. He always addressed men of the present day like one of themselves; and looked into questions as they arose by the light of contemporary and not of traditional opinions. Earl Russell might dwell, time after time, with tedious iteration upon the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and the passing of the Roman Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Acts; but Lord Palmerston was always thinking too much of the work actually in hand to indulge in prosy retrospects of achievements which he had helped to accomplish some quarter of a century ago. The contrast between the two noble lords is equally marked, if we look at their relations with society at large. Earl Russell may, indeed, be said to have no relations of the kind. He has great weight in Parliament, and his name is one of unquestionable authority with the country; but of the man himself few people know anything, for he has not cared to make himself known beyond a narrow Whig circle. Nor did the difference in temperament and character between the two statesmen affect their popularity with the masses alone. It is curious to observe how differently they were regarded by the newspaper press, by journalists, and by literary men. Lord Palmerston was, no doubt, vehemently opposed and denounced by the Conservative papers during a large portion of his life; but then he was as eagerly and warmly defended by the Liberal organs; and during his later years he was emphatically the pet of the press, from the London correspondent, who dilated on his plucky bearing and his gay humor, up to the great editor whom he was accused of seducing from the paths of impartiality by the attractions of his gilded saloons. Earl Russell, on the other hand, is obviously no favorite in the newspaper world. He is bitterly attacked, and is supported with great reserve; while the sketchers of political life and manners seem to take a positive pleasure in presenting him under ludicious aspects.

We do not say that this may not be partly traceable to other causes, but undoubtedly Lord Palmerston's popularity amongst journalists was in a great measure owing to the freedom with which—in his own genial way—he associated with some, or the good-humored kindness which he never failed to display towards all whom he came in contact. He knew how to make himself thoroughly at home with them—or, rather, he was thoroughly at home with them. He neither repelled them by hauteur, nor offended them by patronage. He was fond of their society, and he showed it. In the palmy Whig days of the *Morning Chronicle*, the then Foreign Secretary used not unfrequently to attend the annual dinner or supper of the staff; and the Premier was compelled during his last administration to defend himself against a charge of exercising undue influence over the editor of the *Times*. A more curious scene than that which took place on the last occasion had seldom occurred in the House of Commons; nor was the tact of the noble lord ever more conspicuous. It was in 1860, during the debates on Earl Russell's last Reform Bill. Mr. Horsman having been wounded by an article in the *Times*, determined to make Mr. Walter personally responsible for it. He accordingly wrote a letter to that gentleman, telling him that he should bring the subject before the House, though subsequently, when his irritation had subsided, he abandoned the intention. Mr. Walter, however, would not let him off; he felt that after being threatened with a parliamentary "wigging" for the leaders in the *Times*, the sooner his position was cleared up the better. He, therefore, himself called attention to the matter, disclaimed all responsibility for the articles in question, and protested against what he considered an attempt at intimidation. Thus challenged, Mr. Horsman was not the man to shrink from the encounter. He had written to Mr. Walter a long, eloquent, and antithetical letter, scourging severely the frailties of the *Times*, and commenting very plainly on "the peculiar influences which draw Mr. Delane to Lord Palmerston." This letter he read, or rather declaimed, to the House in the sonorous voice, with the carefully elaborated elocution, and the dramatic gesticulation for which he is remarkable. He accompanied it with many bitter and incisive comments upon the newspaper, its proprietors and contributors, and intimated with tolerable distinctness that it and they were the tools of Lord Palmerston. The scene was very interesting, but up to this point it had been rather painful. Every one felt that it was rather unworthy the dignity of the House; but on the other hand, every one was anxious to see how Lord Palmerston would, to use a familiar expression, "get out of it." Nothing more easy. He commenced by referring to the fact that for many years of his life he had been the subject of the most bitter attacks from the *Times*. "In fact," he said, "during a portion of my public life I was one of the best abused men in England." But, as he reminded the house he submitted in patience, living on in the belief that an answer would, sooner or later, be furnished by his public conduct. With one of those contemptuous waves of the hand which he knew how to make so expressive, he drew a ringing cheer from the House, and made Mr. Horsman look very small indeed by the remark, that it had never occurred to him to rise in the house and formally to complain of what had been said of him. The member for Stroud being thus "settled," he proceeded to deal with the imputations against himself. He assumed no lofty airs of superiority to the press; he made no pretence of standing aloof from it. On the contrary, he avowed, with playful humor, that he would be very glad indeed if he could influence the *Times*—he was only sorry that he could not. It was true that Mr. Delane and other contributors to the press came to his house; but why should not they? They were very agreeable people; he liked their society, and he hoped they found that of Cambridge House to their taste. As to imagining that there was anything occult in the influences which drew Mr. Delane there, the thing was really absurd. Why, had he not had the honor of occasionally receiving Mr. Disraeli, and had he not himself been received by Lord Derby? Did any one suppose that anything mysterious occurred on these occasions; or that the fact of dining at Cambridge House or at Lord Derby's residence influenced the Right Hon. member for Bucks or himself. Of course, no one would or could imagine such a thing; then why, asked the noble lord, in effect, should any one insinuate that Mr. Delane is purchased, and that I have bought him, because he sometimes visits me? Nothing could be more perfect than the good taste of this little speech, which was delivered in the noble lord's most humorous manner, and kept the House in a roar of laughter. Without affording the least loophole for a reply, his lordship had pooh-poohed and turned into ridicule an affair which might easily have become troublesome under less skilful treatment; and he had paid a most flattering compliment to the editor in question, without professing to do so, by the mere fact of assuming his social equality with Mr. Disraeli and himself. The whole thing was so irresistibly amusing, that even Mr. Disraeli, who is seldom seen to smile in the House of Commons, restrained his laughter with difficulty; and although he had himself once talked about "gilded saloons," he carefully avoided anything of the kind in the few words with which he closed the conversation. This was a slight affair; but, as we have already said, it exhibited the skill and tact of the noble lord in a striking manner, and it also showed how cordial and genial were his relations with men in no wise connected with the great Revolution families.

The noble lord's bearing towards a somewhat lower grade of journalists was not less unaffected and kindly. The reporters who went down to his elections at Tiverton almost always returned with some story illustrating his good-humored, pleasant ways. One of these has already appeared in print but it is so good and so characteristic that it is worth repeating. On one occasion, when his lordship, as Foreign Secretary, was addressing his constituents, a reporter from the *Morning Chronicle* was the only representative of the press present. The speech contained some rather strong remarks upon the then French Government, and the reporter took upon himself, at the conclusion of the address, to ask his lordship whether he desired those remarks to be given, or whether they were not merely designed *ad captandum* (as it were). Lord Palmerston smiled, thanked the gentleman for his offer, but declined it, with the remark that, "What I say here I say for everywhere." He then said, "How are you going up? I am going to town at once, to take part in the London election." The reporter replied (this was in the days of posting), "If your lordship will take up my report, and send it for me to the *Morning Chronicle* office in time for publication, I shall be much obliged, for that will enable me to proceed west." His lordship willingly accepted the commission, took charge of the parcel, and delivered it with exemplary punctuality. On another occasion, when he was about to speak at the same place, the reporters found that, owing to the time at which the train first started, they would not be able to return to town that night if he spoke above half an hour. They accordingly sent a deputation, to ask his lordship whether he could confine his remarks to that time. He promised to do so. He commenced his speech, talked away as freely as ever, and, as the time went on, the reporters were not a little afraid that he had forgotten all about his engagement. But when the end of the half-hour approached, he rounded off his observations, and as he sat down, with about a minute to spare, he leant over to the representatives of the press, and remarked with a knowing and good-humored smile, "Well, I have kept my promise, have not I?" We might multiply stories of the same kind, but we can spare room for only one other. When his lordship was going down to the Tiverton election in 1857, a reporter chanced to open the carriage in which he was sitting with Lady Palmerston at the Exeter Station. Seeing who were its occupants he drew back, and was about to close the door, when the Premier, who evidently recognized a face not unknown in the gallery, called him in, chatted with him all the way to Tiverton in the frankest manner, discussed the prospects of the pending election (it was the one which followed the dissolution on the China vote), listened to and repeated more than once to lady Palmerston the shrewd comments of the "gallery" man upon the men who occupy the floor of the House of Commons, and freely expressed his own opinions on his rivals and contemporaries. It is an instance of his good nature, and of the readiness with which he forgot and forgave, that, although Mr. Cobden had recently attacked him with great bitterness, all he had to say against the then member for the West Riding was that he was "so thin-skinned." The only anecdote we ever heard, in which Lord Russell and a newspaper man figured together, was in strong contrast to those we have just given. The circumstances occurred during the City of London election in 1857. At that time, as may be recollected, the *Times* had been very severe in its comments on the noble earl—and it would seem that he had made up his mind to let the editor know how little he cared for him. Accordingly, after speaking on the nomination day at the Guildhall, he sent for the *Times* reporter present, who was a member of the Bar, and a gentleman in every sense of the word. In his most frigid manner, and his most sneering voice, the noble lord commenced by asking the ridiculous question whether his speech would be reported in the *Times*? He was told it would. "Ah!" he said, "I never see the *Times* now; I should like to have a copy—will you send me one?" The reporter replied with some warmth that it was his duty to report meetings, and not to take orders for papers; and he bade good morning to his lordship, who did not even apologize for the insult which he had inflicted either intentionally or through sheer ignorance of, or indifference to, the feelings of those outside, or below his own class. These things are very trifling we admit. But an accumulation of trifles becomes important; and there can be no doubt that while Lord Palmerston owed a good deal of his success in life to the sort of bearing, and the sort of acts, which we have described, Earl Russell has been constantly encumbered by the weight of his own ungenial character, and embarrassed by the dislike which his narrow sympathies and his cold manners have excited beyond the circle of his immediate followers and friends.

THE MARTYRDOM OF JOAN OF ARC.

The following description of this woman's sufferings, we copy from a contribution to the Boston *Transcript*, by a person who signs "Dalva:"

In the Musee des Monumens Francais at Paris, there is a portrait of singular interest. It is apparently that of a young girl some twenty years of age, whose countenance wears a soft and dreamy beauty, which long haunts the memory of the beholder. Upon her head is a martial cap with feathers, and in her hand a shield and sword. It is Joan of Arc—the shepherd maid, whose memory, for years assailed by detraction and the prejudices of her race, now grows brighter as time developes her character and her virtues.

Seventy miles from Paris, in the city of Rouen, that ancient capital of Normandy, within whose walls William the Conqueror played in childhood, is another memorial of the Maid of Orleans. Indeed, the whole aspect of the place recalls the age in which she lived. I well remember how strangely the sombre old city seemed to me, contrasted with the brilliant Paris. I had come fresh from the giddy whirl of luxurious fashion along the Boulevard Italien to the sober quiet of these narrow streets, from the gilded frippery of the church of Madeline to the solemn tranquility of Norman Cathedral, and the still grander church of St. Ouen; and it was as if between the rising and setting of the sun I had breathed the atmosphere of far distant centuries. The gray old buildings on whose quaint carvings, arabesques, and bas reliefs, the storms have beaten for centuries, seemed to rebuke with their stately gravity the breathless curiosity of the passing traveller. A narrow winding street, darkened by projecting gables of narrow windowed houses, leads from the principal thoroughfare to a locality which is first sought after by strangers. It is where Joan of Arc perished. The details of the scene which has given a fearful interest to the spot now consecrated to her memory, have an interest which will live as long as that love of noble courage which is inherent in every human heart; and which the diligent researches of modern investigators have developed in many touching particulars of that terrible drama.

On the 30th of May, 1431, at 9 o'clock in the morning, Joan of Arc, having been condemned to be burned to death, was led forth to execution. Her crime was devotion to her country; that country whose welfare she believed had been entrusted to her by a special revelation from heaven, and whose interests she loved with the enthusiasm of her sex and race. For years she had been commanded, by voices from the clouds, to lead the French army on to victory. By day these voices urged her onward, and by night she saw in visions the forms of holy saints, who strove to arouse her shrinking courage and persuade her to fulfil her divine mission. She obeyed their summons, and after accomplishing her work, had fallen a victim to treachery and falsehood. Deserted by those for whom she had labored, she was left to the tender mercies of the holy inquisition. Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, had presided at the mock trial which preceded condemnation. As she was placed in the cart which was to bear her to the scaffold, she perceived her chief persecutor, and addressed him thus: "Bishop, I die through you, and for this I summon you to appear before God." The cap of the Inquisition was then placed upon her head, and turning to a monk at her side, she said: "Ah, master Pierre, to-night, by the grace of God, I shall be in Paradise."

The procession left the church of St. Ouen, and wound through the narrow streets to the old market place. Eight hundred lancers guarded the prisoner. The streets were thronged with people, eager to look upon the leader of armies, now degraded to the fate of a criminal. Some cursed her for a sorceress; others prayed aloud in her behalf. She had partaken of the communion, and, on reaching the place of execution, a sermon was preached by one of those that had sat in judgment upon her.

A high scaffolding of masonry, heaped with fagots, had been built in the centre of the open space, and near it, two platforms for the Bishop, the judges, and the preacher, that they might catch the slightest expression of fear or regret that the agony of her dying moments might wring from her lips. From his infernal throne, the Bishop exhorted Joan to confess her misdeeds to the people, and to truly repent of her many sins. She answered only by kneeling at the foot of her funeral pile, and praying God to pardon her murderers. To the bystanders she said: "Pray for me! I pardon and ask pardon of all." She invoked the aid of the Virgin of St. Michel and St. Catharine, whose voices had from her childhood sounded in her ears, and then begged the priests to say masses for her soul. Her sweetness and simple piety touched the hearts of those who had labored for her execution. Soldiers wept. One of the Chroniclers of her time says that even the Bishop of Beauvais was seen to shed tears. If so, his humanity was of short duration. He called to the poor girl to listen to the act of condemnation, and reminded her of her grievous schism, idolatry, and familiarity with demons.

The executioner with two men at arms, led her up to the steps of the scaffold; from its summit she could see the dense crowd surging to and fro, eagerly watching her every movement. No wonder that in that dreadful moment her memory recalled her peaceful days of childhood, and her woman's heart melted into tears.

As she was bound to the stake, she cried, "Ah! Rouen, I fear greatly that you will suffer from my death." A placard, with the words, "Heretic, Apostate, Idolater," was placed over her head, and the funeral pile was lighted. She shrieked aloud; but quickly recovering her composure, begged the monk, who stood by her to go down, lest he should share her fate. As he left her the flames had reached her rope.

By the fiendish order of the Lord Bishop of Beauvais, the fire had been arranged to burn slowly, that her sufferings might be prolonged and some recantation perhaps escape from her dying lips. Standing at the foot of the pile, he asked the poor creature if she abjured her religion. Her reply must have haunted him to his last hour on earth: "Bishop, I die through you!" As the flames curled around her, those who stood near heard her voice above the cracking of the fagots, saying, "Yes, the voices from God; they have not deceived me." Doubtless, in that moment there came to her soul a strength which lifted it far above the reality of the sufferings that tortured her bodily frame. Amidst all her agony, no word of reproach or hatred passed her lips. All was gentleness and peace and holy forgiveness.

She had placed in her bosom a cross which one of the crowd had given her, and at her request the Dominican, who, with one other, alone befriended her, lifted the crucifix that she might see it through the smoke that was fast enveloping her. He heard her voice calling upon her Saviour, and again invoking the Saints whose fancied presence had sustained her sinking spirit. The lofty courage of the heart that had beat beneath the peasant's gown and the glittering mail, did not now forsake the "pale martyr in her robe of fire. As earth faded from her view, there opened beneath her the gate of Heaven. Soon her head sank upon her breast, and for the last time she cried Jesus, Jesus!"

As these words escaped her, an English soldier who had vowed to add a fagot to the pile, fell as if dead, just as he reached the scaffold. When he recovered he protested that he saw a white dove fly out of her mouth as she breathed her last sigh. Others had seen in the flames the name of Jesus. The most desperate and hardened of the soldiers wept like children. Even the executioner hastened to confession, fearful that God would not pardon his share in the bloody work. Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, alone sustained the cruel and relentless character he had played so well. By his order the ashes of his victim were gathered up and cast into the Seine; and with this final indignity ended the persecution of Joan of Arc.

A CROCODILE STORY.

From the Athenæum.

Paris, 1865.

Among the houses recently pulled down in Paris, to make way for the new Boulevard St.-Michel, was a well-known wine-shop, more celebrated, however, for a large crocodile, which was suspended from the ceiling of the shop, than for the wine that was retailed. This animal was stuffed, and was remarkable for its large proportions, formidable rows of glistening teeth, and for seven arrows which pierced its scaly sides. Such a beast could not be without a history. Here it is.

The wine-house was occupied formerly by medical students. The landlord was an amiable, easy-going man, and though not precisely willing to allow the students to live rent-free, was never very exacting and always ready to give his lodgers time to pay their dues. It happened, however, that one of the students was not only far behind in his payments for rent, but also owed the landlord a considerable sum for board. For a long time the latter did not press for payment; but when the sum owing amounted to 800 francs, he began to get impatient for his money. Under these circumstances the student cudgelled his brains to devise means to satisfy his landlord; but all his attempts to earn money honestly were fruitless, and he began to despair, when a fortunate chance relieved him of his difficulty.

Being so far reduced as to sell his clothes, he saw in the shop where he had parted with his garments a large crocodile wretchedly stuffed. "How much do you want for that beast," he inquired from the old clothesman. "Ten francs," replied the latter. —"Oh, you are joking," rejoined the student; "ten francs for such a villanous beast as that! Come, now, I will give you three.—"Done," exclaimed the old-clothes merchant, and away went the student with his purchase, taking care to bring it into his lodging at nightfall in order that his landlord should not see it.

He now set to work to re-staff the crocodile, and by dint of hot water and paint, varnish, false teeth, and glass eyes, succeeded in restoring the animal to life-like similitude, and making it a very formidable looking crocodile. When he had completed his task he purchased seven arrows, attached feathers to them of the most brilliant and showy plumage, and then thrust the points into the sides of the crocodile. This done, he placed the beast in a closet in his room, disposing it in such a manner that by leaving the door open it might easily be seen.

Many days had not elapsed before the landlord paid his lodger an early visit. The student, who had not yet risen, hearing his landlord's voice outside his door, and conscious of the object of being waited on, opened the closet door, requested the landlord to enter, and then jumped into bed again.

The student's apprehensions were true, the landlord had come for a portion, at least, of his rent. He was at first disposed to deal leniently with his lodger, until the latter declared that he was soulless, and, moreover, did not think it at all probable that he should be able to discharge his lodging debt. On hearing this the landlord became furious, and was proceeding to threaten the student with legal proceedings, when, turning round, his eyes fell on the magnificent crocodile within the closet. His curiosity being aroused, he requested to know how his lodger became possessed of the animal, and whether any history attached to it. On this, the student, who desired nothing better, and who had laid his plans to entrap his landlord, proceeded to inform him that the crocodile in question was on the point of devouring one of his uncles in South America when it was pierced by the arrows still in its sides discharged by savages, who appeared on the scene at the critical time.

During the recital of the story, the landlord regarded the animal with great admiration, and when the student had finished, he exclaimed, "Do you know that the crocodile would make an excellent shop-sign?—come, what will you sell it to me for?" The student declared that to part with so interesting a family relic was out of the question; but when his landlord's offer ran high he at length gave way, and the crocodile finally became his property for the sum of 1,200 francs and the further understanding that the student's debt was to be cancelled.

This price was certainly extravagant, bearing in mind that for which the student had obtained the animal; but the landlord had no reason to repent his bargain, for it made not only his fortune, but that of his two successors, and is, moreover, likely to make that of a third.

Suspended from the ceiling of the wine-shop hundreds came to see the great crocodile which was killed when about to devour a man, and now the proprietor of the wine-shop, lately demolished, has carried it off with the rest of his stock in trade for the purpose of setting it up in his new premises.

C. R. W.

The Eustis Mansion.—The death of the venerable Madam Eustis, which occurred early in October at the old mansion on Eustis street, on the line between Roxbury and Dorchester, awakens reminiscences of "ye olden time." Of the hundreds who drive over that thoroughfare, and may-hap observe a quite stately old pile among the trees and shrubbery on the east of the road, at a distance of some fifty rods, few know much of its history. It was built by the Colonial Governor Shirley about the year 1743, and was for those days an imposing residence. It is two stories above the basement, with an observatory and piazzas commanding a fine view of Boston and the harbor, and is something near seventy-five feet square upon the ground. Its oak frame was brought from England. Its grand reception room, dining room, library, hall, and staircase are finished in a very elaborate and elegant style. Here his Excellency, holding his commission from the King, gave his semi-royal levees, dressed in bag wig, ruffles, and small clothes. Here, at a later day, the republican Governor Eustis lived and flourished, though in less ambitious style than his predecessor. He died about 1824, shortly after the visit of Lafayette, whom he entertained during his stay here. Gov. Eustis, in his youth, studied medicine with Dr. Warren, the patriot general who fell at Bunker Hill, and on the morning of the battle drove that gallant officer with a horse and chaise to the bloody field. Gen. Washington on his arrival at Boston to receive his commission as commander of the armies of America, made this house his temporary abode. Mr. Webster was once on a visit to the family, and, remaining over night, was shown to his chamber by way of the grand stairway: "What!" said he, as he mounted the broad steps, "did the old governor drive up to bed with his coach and four?" Madame Eustis continued to live upon the estate till her death, refusing with true "Portsmouth pride" in family and homestead, all propositions to part with it. Besides being the wife of a governor, she was the niece of John Langdon of New Hampshire, and daughter of the governor of the same name and State. The old house is now sadly out of repair, but the ample grounds show evidence of former careful culture. Madam Eustis had only a life interest in the estate, and it now passes into the possession of the descendants of Gov. Eustis.—*Boston Journal.*

English Election Incident.—The *Great Westminster Canvass* tells how John Stuart Mill was elected to Parliament. We quote a single incident from the *Canvass*, the occasion being a speech by Mr. Mill in St. James' Hall. The writer says:

When Mr. Mill had concluded his address, it was announced that he would answer any questions as to his opinions which persons in the audience might put to him. It really seemed as if no voice could have the courage to follow that eloquent one which had just ceased, and truly it would have required a very high question to be in keeping with the impression left upon us. Nevertheless, a man rose to put a question, and his gravity of manner caused a general hush in the room. The question put by the man was in these words, which were given in a stentorian voice:

"I wish to ask Mr. Mill what is his opinion as to the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister?"

Never was there a more precipitous descent from the sublime to the ridiculous. After the first roaring surge of laughter had swept over the crowd, some thought that the man had been sent there by the enemy to turn the meeting into a farce. But no; there he stood, solemn and imperturbable, awaiting the answer to his question. This added to the grotesqueness of the whole affair, and it seemed for a while that the crowd would never be able to recover its gravity. Mr. Mill, who saw at once that he was dealing with a man's hobby, answered, when quiet was restored, in a manner which did much credit to his heart. He rather shielded the man from the laughter of the crowd by the respectful tone with which he said: "Without having considered all the outs and ins of the question proposed, yet on the principle that liberty should be allowed except where reason to the contrary can be shown, and as I know of none against marriage with a deceased wife's sister, I should be in favor of freedom in that respect."

The Sanitary Commission.—*Receipts and Expenditures During the Past Four Years.*—From a document just issued by the Sanitary Commission we glean that from June 27, 1861, to July 1, 1865, at which latter date the active work of the organization closed, the receipts were over *four million eight hundred and thirteen thousand dollars*, of which Massachusetts contributed $15,511 35, and through the Boston branch, $77,689 51; Maine